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Smash the White Republic of Black Misery!

Statement by the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party on its 60th Anniversary

The South African Communist Party was born on July 30th 1921. On that day those who gathered to launch our party of the working class pledged to struggle for a South Africa when its people

> **"shall no longer cower under the bludgeon of the oppressor, when the necessaries and amenities of life, the comfort and the culture, the honour and the power, shall be to him who toils not him who exploits, when none shall be called master and none servant, but all shall be fellow workers in common."**

It is this glorious vision which has inspired our Party in the 60 years of its life — 60 years of uncompromising struggles against racism, against capitalist exploitation and for a socialist South Africa in which the riches of our land will be returned to our people.

From the moment of its birth, our Party has been hated and feared by the racist ruling class and, in 1950, was the first organisation to be driven underground. Our leaders and members have in the last 60 years suffered unending persecution,

imprisonment, torture and even hanging.

In common with the capitalist ruling class in every part of the world the enemy continues to spread its poisonous anti-communist and anti-Soviet propaganda to make people believe that Marxism is an alien ideology and that communists are merely "foreign agitators".

Our party — the first Marxist-Leninist working class vanguard on the African continent — has earned this hatred from the enemy and its imperialist allies because its ideology and revolutionary practice have always struck, and continue to strike, at the very heart of racist oppression and its foundation, capitalist exploitation. In every class and national battle which has been fought in the last 60 years, communists — African, Coloured, Indian and White — were always there amongst those in the front line, giving their all to the cause of liberation. They are, and have always been, of the people, sons and daughters of the soil, patriots united by a common hatred of the oppressor and dedicated to the destruction of all forms of exploitation of man by man.

Today, on our 60th anniversary, we recall with pride our communist heroes whose names have come to symbolise the very spirit of resistance and defiance to all forms of oppression — men and women who dedicated and often sacrificed their lives in the cause of freedom. Some fought and died in the fierce struggles waged by the working class in the early decades of this century. Some were members of Umkhonto we Sizwe who fought and died in Zimbabwe in 1967. Many of the new generation of Communists which has emerged since the Soweto upsurge in 1976 have joined Umkhonto we Sizwe and some have already died on the field of battle. Some were massacred by the racist murderers at Matola. Many are amongst the political prisoners on Robben Island and Pretoria Central Prison. Many of those who over the years have been murdered by the security police in detention were members of the Communist Party. Others continue to risk their lives in the Party and liberation underground.

These are the so called 'foreign agitators': African, Coloured, Indian and white revolutionaries, who live and die for the cause of the people and its most oppressed group, the black working class; workers, peasants, and revolutionary intellectuals who became servants of the cause of all the oppressed working people; Xhosas, Zulus, Tswanas, Sothos, who broke with tribalism and regionalism

and have helped build the unity of the black oppressed; Coloureds and Indians who have made common cause with their African brothers; whites who have rejected the privileges of racist supremacy and have become comrades and brothers in the cause of liberation.

We Represent The Future

The enemy hates us because we represent a future South Africa of one united people in which 'none shall be called master and none servant'. They hate us because they know that our ideology — Marxism-Leninism — is the most serious threat to the system of capitalist exploitation which is at the bottom of race supremacy in our land. They hate us because, together with the working class of the world, we work for a socialist society which will bring peace and end all forms of social injustice and exploitation.

On this our 60th anniversary we celebrate not only the courage and heroism of so many individual communists but we also look back with pride at the contribution our party has made to the overall struggle for national liberation. In the 30s, under the slogan of a 'black republic', our party was the first to demand majority rule in South Africa. The great miners' strike of 1946, the Defiance Campaign of 1952, the squatters' movement, the Congress of the People in 1955, the anti-pass campaigns of the late 50s, the general strikes against racial oppression and the white republic, the bus boycotts — in all these heroic struggles the SACP played an important and key role.

From the days of the ICU to the Council of Non-European Trade Unions to SACTU, our Party has always been amongst those in the forefront organising trade unions, mobilising the workers and leading them in their battles against the capitalist class and its racist state. When the situation demanded a turn to organised revolutionary violence in the early 60s, our Party together with the ANC helped bring into existence the fighting arm of the liberation movement — Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Today the SACP is a vital part of the liberation forces headed by the African National Congress. This alliance aims to unite all sections and classes amongst the oppressed and other truly democratic forces for a revolution to destroy white domination. This revolution, whose main content is the national liberation of the African and other black oppressed groups, must put an end to race

discrimination in all its forms, restore the land and wealth of our country to the people and guarantee democracy, freedom and equality of rights and opportunities to all.

The Key Force — The Black Working Class

We believe that the immediate struggle to destroy racist colonialism and to win national freedom is an essential part of the struggle for a future socialist South Africa.

In this struggle the key force has always been, and will continue to be, the black working class in alliance with the masses of the landless rural people. It is this class which finds its most staunch champions in our South African Communist Party.

We celebrate our 60th anniversary against the background of mounting people's struggles on all fronts. Our working class is once again engaged in a growing strike movement and there has been an impressive growth of trade union organisation. Our youth has been in a continuous state of confrontation with the enemy for the last 5 years, in the schools, universities and in the locations. Pockets of resistance have arisen in the countryside against the Bantustans and the forced resettlement schemes. The black churches are showing an increasing determination in their rejection of the worst features of racism.

Despite unending intimidation, harassment and bannings, the people are ever finding new ways of setting up popular legal and semi-legal forms of mass organisation. The oppressed black women are once again moving towards the creation of organised levels of local and national resistance. Bus boycotts and resistance to rent increases persistently break out in widespread areas of the country. The blows of Umkhonto we Sizwe against the enemy have become more wounding and our people and the whole world recognise the growing sophistication and capacity to strike by our armed cadres. Workers in the political underground have made important strides and, through their revolutionary activities, the ANC and its allies stand today as the unchallenged leaders of mass resistance and the struggle for people's power.

Despite economic blackmail and murderous attacks by the racist army, the independent states of Southern Africa refuse to be intimidated. The smashing of the Smith-Muzorewa regime in Zimbabwe has now completely eliminated the chain of buffer

colonialist states which cushioned racist South African from the rest of our continent. With the intensification of the armed struggle of the Namibian people led by SWAPO, we can look forward to a speedy end to South Africa's colonialist occupation of that territory. South African Communists, whose party 60 years ago was the first to raise the red flag of Marxism-Leninism on our continent, are especially inspired by the newly born states of Mozambique and Angola led by liberation movements which have transformed themselves into Marxist-Leninist vanguards of their working people and are engaged in the continuing revolution to create conditions for the building of socialism in their countries. The spectre of socialism and communism, born of people's liberation struggles, now stares at our common enemy right in the face from the borders of Mozambique and Angola. And the enemy trembles at the knees.

Internationalism

The revolutionary advances in Southern Africa have been won through sacrifice and struggle and with the internationalist support of the socialist world and, more especially, the Soviet Union, the first society ruled by and for workers who captured power in the great October Socialist Revolution of 1917. We are proud that for 60 years our party has been part of the great international brotherhood of workers and Communist Parties which have always stood four-square behind our struggle against racist and capitalist tyranny. The enemy's intensified anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaign is itself a tribute to the consistent support which our struggle has received, and continues to receive, from the world socialist forces.

Our people will not be taken in by the slander of the racists. They know that wherever oppressed people have been forced to confront the enemy, the AK, produced by Soviet workers, has become the feared symbol of the fight for freedom. They know too that it is the socialist world which is the biggest obstacle to the manoeuvres of the racists and their imperialist allies in their attempts to turn back the clock of history and to destroy the gains of the African revolution.

On this our 60th anniversary, the South African Communist Party pledges not to spare itself in the important battles ahead. We face the future armed with the legacy of our heroic past. We are inspired by the great South African Communist heroes and martyrs

whose blood has watered the tree of freedom in our land. We are reinforced by the liberating ideas of Marxism-Leninism. We are national patriots, sons and daughters of the soil, who live and breathe proletarian internationalism.

We stand on guard against all forms of narrow and backward nationalism, tribalism, racism and regionalism. We represent that class — our working people — who have nothing to lose but their chains and whose future can only be guaranteed by the eventual destruction of capitalism and the building of a socialist South Africa in which "none shall be master and none servant."

On this our 60th anniversary we call upon all sections of the South African people — workers, peasants, youth, women, and the oppressed middle strata, to engage the enemy on every front, to strengthen the underground, to build and strengthen their mass organisations, to isolate the collaborators, to destroy the Bantustans and those who are attempting to sell their people's birthright, and to strike ever more wounding armed blows against the white republic of black misery.

On this our 60th anniversary we pledge to strengthen and cement even further the unity of the liberation forces headed by the ANC, and to spare nothing in the struggles ahead.

LONG LIVE THE SACP!.
LONG LIVE THE ANC!.
LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!.
FORWARD TO PEOPLE'S POWER!.
FORWARD TO A SOCIALIST SOUTH AFRICA!.

THE IMPERIALIST DRIVE TO WAR MUST BE HALTED!

The world is passing through an anxious phase as the western imperialist countries under pressure from the United States vastly increase their capacity to launch and wage an intensive nuclear war. The United States has just stepped up defence expenditure to a new record level amounting for the first time to 15 per cent of its total budget expenditure, and is demanding similar increases from its NATO partners. Britain's metal-headed Mrs Thatcher chimes agreement, though other West European governments are not so enthusiastic. Neither Britain nor the United States suffered under Nazi occupation during the second world war, and neither suffered devastation on the scale experienced in Europe or Asia. Had it

been Americans and not Japanese who were the victims of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs, it is doubtful if the influence of the US military-industrial complex would be as strong as it is today.

The US denies that it has aggressive intentions (though voices from within the administration are to be heard demanding that the Soviet Union abandon communism or face the threat of war), and says it is building up its forces purely in the interests of deterrence. Deterrence against what? The Soviet Union, which suffered more than any other country in the last war, has shown no sign of aggression against anyone. And to those who shout about Afghanistan, it is only necessary to point out that the ratification of SALT 2 was already deferred by the Carter administration, the NATO decision already taken to deploy 600 new atomic weapons in Western Europe, American troops already dispatched to the Middle East, new bases already established in the Indian Ocean and military links already forged with China *before* the Soviet Union responded to the appeal of the Afghan government to provide military assistance against the forces of counter-revolution in their country. In fact, the Soviet decision was partly motivated by the need to protect her security following a long line of aggressive actions directed against her by the imperialist powers.

One of the prime needs in military preparation is the mental conditioning of the population for war. Those in the west have been subject to this conditioning for years, and have been battered by the media to accept two propositions: 1 — that the Soviet Union is an aggressive enemy with whom compromise is impossible, and 2 — that as a result war is inevitable. Daily the passions of readers, listeners and viewers are incited against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Every trifling incident is magnified out of all proportion so long as it adds to the cumulative effect. The positive achievements of Soviet society are belittled or ignored.

If the Soviet Union were in fact bent on war, would not its leaders, like Hitler, find it necessary to justify and glorify war, to condition its own people for the inevitable conflict, to call for more and better weapons to overcome the enemy? Yet nowhere is warmongering to be found as an element of Soviet propaganda. At the 26th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union last February, President Brezhnev, delivering the report of the Central Committee said:

"If you ask any Soviet person — whether a member of the Communist Party or not — what has highlighted our Party's path in recent years, the

answer will be: it has been highlighted above all by the fact that we are managing to preserve peace. . . For at present nothing is more essential and more important for any nation than to preserve peace and ensure the paramount right of every human being — the right to life".

What country has sponsored the notion of detente if not the Soviet Union? And in which countries if not the US and Britain have politicians recently been shouting that detente is dead? What country if not the Soviet Union has put forward from 1917 onwards the plea for peace, plans for disarmament and the limitation of strategic weapons? What country if not the Soviet Union demanded throughout the recent Madrid follow-up conference on the Helsinki agreement that the main outcome must be a European disarmament conference because the preservation of peace is the main issue facing the world today? Is it really possible to believe that the Soviet Union is preparing its people for a war of aggression by repeatedly stressing the virtues of peace?

In his outline of Soviet foreign policy, President Brezhnev emphasised the importance of liquidating the final bastions of imperialism and neo-colonialism — but not by war. "The decisive sector of the competition with capitalism is the economy and economic policy", he said. At the same time he stressed that "the CPSU will consistently continue the policy of promoting co-operation between the USSR and the newly-free countries, and consolidating the alliance of world socialism and the national liberation movement. . . We are fighting for the just cause of peace and the security of nations, and for the interests of the working people".

It is because the United States regards the ever-advancing forces of national liberation as a form of terrorism threatening the survival of capitalism that it is driven to adopt more and more aggressive policies to defend its interests. And what are its interests? Not the liberation of mankind from oppression and exploitation — the main theme of Brezhnev's address — but the preservation of privilege and monopoly. United States interests in the Gulf region are, not the liquidation of feudalism and reaction, not the elimination of the power of the sheikhs and mullahs, but precisely the propping up of oppressive regimes which guarantee the US access to the resources of the area. The Soviet Union — already the world's largest producer and exporter of petrol and natural gas — has no interest in grabbing the resources of the Middle East. Yet when the Soviet Union proposes a Middle East conference to bring peace to the area, its initiative is derided.

When the United States Government takes part in discussions for mutual

security, disarmament or the limitation of strategic weapons, it does so reluctantly, under pressure from its own people and those of the whole world, never with a whole heart. When in living memory did a genuine peace initiative come from the United States? What have their statesmen and diplomats to offer except objections, delaying tactics and obstructions to the peace proposals of others? Why was President Brezhnev's 26th Congress offer of a summit conference with the US to lessen the danger of war rejected out of hand by Reagan? The fact is the United States waged war on revolutionary Russia during the wars of intervention by the capitalist countries from 1917 to 1922, and has been preparing every since, in one way or another, to resume the conflict which it believes is inevitable if capitalism is not to succumb to socialism on a world scale. The United States ruling class does not believe in peaceful coexistence.

Aggression in Africa

Nowhere is the real rapacity and aggression underlying US foreign policy underlined more clearly than in Southern Africa. In his television interview on the question last March, Reagan pleaded:

"Can we abandon a country (South Africa) that has stood beside us in every war we've ever fought, a country that is essential to the free world, that has minerals?"

In addition to ignoring the Nationalist Party's alliance with Hitler during the last war, this statement overlooks the fact that South Africa is also a country that has people, mostly black people with no democratic rights. This top man in the home of "democracy", the defender of "human rights" (in socialist countries only) made no call for black participation in the April 29 general election, but instead appealed for understanding of the "role of the whites and other minority groups" and the need for the maintenance of "civilised value standards" — the classic call-sign of white supremacists from the days of Cecil Rhodes onwards.

The naked self-interest of the US in relation to Africa as a whole was expounded by the US Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker at his confirmation hearing before the US Senate in April. Far from putting African independence and freedom and the promotion of the welfare of the African peoples first on his list of priorities, Crocker emphasised that "Africa is becoming increasingly important to the US in pursuit of our global objectives". He defined US interests in Africa in the following order:

1. "Supporting regional security" (i.e. maintenance of the status quo, however inequitable.)

2. "Ensuring for the US and our allies fair commercial access to essential petroleum and non-fuel minerals".

3. "Promoting US trade and investment in Africa".

4. "Fostering basic human liberties in keeping with both our principles and our long-term interests and objectives."

5. "Co-operating with our Western allies and friends in Africa to deter aggression and subversion by our adversaries".

Note that "basic human liberties" (undefined) are only of interest in so far as they do not interfere with the main US aim of keeping Africa within the imperialist orbit and maintaining US access to and exploitation of the human and material resources of the continent. Crocker came back to this theme again and again:

"Our political relations with Africa must be guided by our interests, both global and regional. . .

"Together with Zaire, Southern African countries play an important role in meeting US, European and Japanese requirements for critical minerals. . .

"The challenge this administration accepts is to develop policies throughout Southern Africa that enhance our interests and impede opportunities for our adversaries. . ."

Nor is this to be purely peaceful competition. "It would clearly be unwise to rule out military instruments of our policy in Africa or anywhere else. . . the challenge to US policy is to acquire and retain a level of influence commensurate with our interests, strategic, political and economic".

As far as Crocker is concerned, Africa is a pawn in a game of US global domination and nowhere is his voice raised in support of any movement of national liberation. Indeed, Reagan has called our freedom fighters "terrorists". In striking contrast to his self-centred and rapacious approach to Africa is the solidarity appeal issued by the 10th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in April:

"The SED reaffirms on behalf of the communists and all working people of the German Democratic Republic its firm and fraternal solidarity with all communists, with all revolutionaries and patriots who are being tormented in the jails and concentration camps of inhuman regimes. We greet all fighters for national and social liberation who are exposed to repression, persecution and discrimination and who in deepest clandestinity are waging, often at the risk of their lives, a selfless struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and social progress, against

war, fascism, colonialism and neocolonialism, against imperialism and hegemonism".

Never has a solidarity appeal of this kind emanated from any western government. On the contrary, the main western countries continually identify themselves with the reactionary forces in Africa, and oppose not only the liberation movements like SWAPO, the ANC and Polisario, but also those independent governments which have adopted the policies of Marxism-Leninism or have taken the non-capitalist road. On Angola, Crocker says: "It will not be possible for the US to consider diplomatic relations with that nation as long as there is a Cuban combat troop presence". What hypocrisy! The presence of 100,000 South African troops in Namibia has not prevented US recognition of the illegal South African regime. Nor has the presence of French combat troops in a number of African countries stood in the way of US recognition. In fact, there is an increasing direct US military presence in a number of African countries — Egypt, Somalia, Kenya, Liberia amongst others — and by insisting on retaining the "military instruments of our policy in Africa", Crocker indicates that US military intervention in Africa on an even greater scale can be expected in future.

Centuries ago the imperialists came to Africa with guns in their hands, and their conquest and domination of our continent has continued well into this century. Now that the world tide is irrevocably turning against them, they threaten a military comeback in defence of "their interests", but it should be made plain to them that their interests are not ours, and that we refuse to allow ourselves to be used as cannon-fodder in their military games, played for the profit of their capitalist ruling class. Africa wants peace and freedom, not neo-colonialism and war. We forecast now that the slogan "Yankee go home" will be voiced with increasing ferocity in Africa in the coming years, and will gather in volume until the imperialists are forced to withdraw in humiliation and defeat just as they were evacuated from the rooftop of their Embassy in Saigon at the end of the Vietnam war.

NAMIBIA AND THE WEST

After the collapse of the Geneva conference on Namibia last January, the western five (US, UK, France, West Germany and Canada) waited for the United States to announce the new line they should follow. At the end of May President Reagan declared, in an interview with the *Washington Post:*

"Right now we want to see a peaceful solution to the Namibian situation. We think it begins with an election. But an election should follow the adoption of a constitution that guarantees equal rights to all people in that country — property rights, minority rights".

Reagan's statement was a give-away. Most of the valuable property in Namibia is at present owned by the local white minority, South Africa and assorted western powers, who between them have been looting the enormous resources of the territory for most of this century. Reagan wants this right to loot guaranteed by a constitution before he will agree to an election — and this was precisely the policy pressed on his administration by representatives of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance and South Africa in hectic lobbying during March and April on the eve of Crocker's African tour.

Crocker visited 12 African countries in an attempt to whip up support for Reagan's policy, but got nowhere. Without exception the African states insisted on the speedy implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 calling for a ceasefire and UN-supervised elections to a constituent assembly. In the event of continued South African intransigence, the African states called for the imposition of total sanctions in order to force compliance with the UN decision. Meetings of the frontline states and the non-aligned nations endorsed this stand and reaffirmed their support for SWAPO as the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

Significantly, at no time during his consultations did Crocker make any attempt to see representatives of either SWAPO or the African National Congress. The views of the majority of the people of the territories involved in the dispute are evidently of no concern to the Reagan administration. Thus when the African countries submitted five resolutions to the Security Council last April calling for mandatory sanctions against South Africa for failing to grant independence to Namibia, the western trio of the US, France and Britain vetoed them.

Both the United States and South Africa are today following the same line on Namibia — that the Namibian question will never be solved unless

the Angolan problem is solved simultaneously. During the South African election, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said:

"The problem is not South West Africa, the problem is Angola. We are talking about 25,000 Cubans, Russians and East Germans sitting in Angola. We are talking about UNITA which is involved in a civil war in Angola. So you have to solve the South West Africa and Angola situations simultaneously, otherwise, I'm afraid, you will never solve the South West African question."

Similar views have been presented to US congressional committees by members of the Reagan administration.

One may ask: And why is there a Cuban, Soviet and 'East German' presence in Angola? And the answer is because they were invited by President Neto in 1975/76 to help repel a CIA-aided South African invasion force bent on overthrowing the legal Angolan government. And they have remained to help the Angolan government repel continued CIA-backed South African attempts to destabilise and overthrow the legal government of independent Angola. Angola threatens no one, but is threatened and attacked by the racists and imperialists because they do not like its politics.

Everybody knows that UNITA is a mere puppet of South Africa, based and equipped in South Africa, and spearheaded by a force of South African and international mercenaries who have already inflicted immense damage on the Angolan people and economy. Speaking to the Security Council during the discussion on Namibia, the Angolan Foreign Minister Paolo Jorge said Angola had been subjected in recent years to 1,600 reconnaissance flights, 290 air raids, 56 helicopter raids and 27 land attacks, resulting in more than 1,800 people being killed and 1,000 wounded. The invading troops have committed the most appalling atrocities. Paolo Jorge estimated the damage they had caused at R600 million. He added:

"If Namibia becomes independent and there is no more aggression from South Africa, we don't need the presence of our Cuban comrades".

From their illegal bases in Namibia, the illegal South African forces conduct illegal raids on Angola about which Reagan, Crocker and Co. make no complaint. In fact, Reagan has been pressing hard for the lifting of the Clark Amendment so that the US can participate directly and openly in this international brigandage. And he is doing the same in El Salvador, the Middle East, Pakistan, Afghanistan, the Philippines, the Caribbean and elsewhere. Wherever a tyrannical regime of privilege and

profit is under threat from the people, Reagan and his imperialist allies will rush to its aid as an outpost of international capitalism. Far from assisting the liberation of Namibia from South African occupation, the western five are attempting to preserve Namibia as part of the South African "constellation" and a staging post for the reconquest of Angola.

In defiance of the arms embargo called for by the Security Council, the western countries and Israel have seen to it that South Africa has obtained all the supplies it needs to maintain military domination of the sub-continent and even to develop its own nuclear weapons. The liberation movements of Southern Africa and elsewhere are being taught by harsh experience that in their struggle for independence they will be confronted not only by boer intransigence but also by imperialist reaction.

The fight for freedom and independence for all peoples cannot be conducted in isolation but is an integral part of the world-wide struggle against the last bastions of capitalism and imperialism.

THE MEANING OF THE WHITE ELECTION

The April 29 parliamentary elections have come and gone and South Africa seems much the same as before — which was only to be expected since more than 90 per cent of the population was excluded from the poll because of the colour of their skins. For the record, the result was as follows:

	Seats		Votes		Percentages	
	1977	1981	1977	1981	1977	1981
NP	134	131	689,108	778,371	65.78	53.32
PFP	17	26	177,705	265,297	16.71	18.17
NRP	10	8	123,245	93,603	11.59	6.41
HNP	nil	nil	34,161	191,249	3.21	13.1
NCP	–	nil	–	19,149	–	1.31
Others	3(SAP)	nil	17,915	2,264	2.26	0.15

The remaining votes in both elections comprised spoilt papers. Total percentage poll: 1977 — 64.70; 1981 — 69.44.

NP = Nationalist Party; PFP = Progressive Federal Party; NRP = New Republic Party; HNP = Reconstituted Nationalist Party; NCP = National Conservative Party led by Dr Connie Mulder; SAP = South African Party, later absorbed into the ruling Nationalist Party.

Elections for the four provincial councils were held at the same time, because in all cases the constituencies were identical. The only significant features were that the HNP gained no seats, while the NRP gained seats which it lost in the parliamentary election and retained control of the Natal Provincial Council.

The election result showed that the Nationalist Party vote declined by more than 11%, most of the defectors going over to the HNP, whose total number of votes rose five fold. There has been talk of an alliance between HNP leader Jaap Marais and NCP leader Connie Mulder which would lay the foundation for Afrikaner Nationalist resurgence and victory in the next election.

This is to ignore the underlying factors in the election, which are that new class alliances are being formed which will move the political pendulum in a different direction. The HNP and the NCP speak largely for the Afrikaner working class and small farmer elements, who are a declining force in the South African economy. The Nationalist Party and the PFP between them represent the effective ruling class in South Africa, the Afrikaner and English bourgeoisie, whose power and influence are expanding. The condition of the Afrikaner "volk" today is not at all the same as it was before Malan's victory in 1948. Then the Afrikaners were a deprived people in relation to English-speaking South Africa, receiving only 29.5% of the national income although they constituted 60% of the white population. The share of the English-speaking 40% of the white population was 44.5%. Today the two sections of the white population receive an equal share of the national income, about 31.5%, and the Afrikaners dominate the state and parastatal apparatus, the army, the police force, air force and navy. The Afrikaner is boss in more senses than one.

Botha called the election with a view to consolidating the strength of the Nationalist Party behind the initiatives of the bourgeoisie and overcoming the resistance of the traditional elements among the Afrikaners who were blocking the way towards the "reforms" he advocates. The right wing mustered all its strength for the election but, though its vote increased, it is left without a platform in either parliament or provincial council. After 13 years of campaigning, the HNP still has to win an election at any level.

The Afrikaner bourgeoisie is today inextricably involved with the English and international bourgeoisie in the ownership and control of the essential levers of power in South Africa. The right-wing forces have no base except sentiment. They control none of the means of production except small farms and the declining white skilled labour force. They have no national press, no access to radio or television. Their potential for future growth is limited.

The advance of the Progressive Federal Party should not be overestimated. The Party has no chance of coming to power except by some sort of alliance with the "verligte" elements in the Nationalist Party, and significantly PFP policy has steadily shifted towards that of the "verligtes". In the no confidence debate at the beginning of this year PFP leader Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert, under pressure from Premier Botha, declared categorically that he was opposed to black majority rule based on one man one vote, and the whole PFP election campaign was designed to rid the electorate of any fear that it stood for equal rights and opportunities for all in a single integrated South Africa as outlined in our Freedom Charter. In fact, the PFP puts forward a policy of federalism which is not all that different from the Nationalist policy of Bantustans.

Should Botha continue to find himself paralysed by right-wing resistance within the Nationalist Party despite the election result, we might well witness in the not too distant future the break-up of the Nationalist Party as we have known it in the past, and the creation of some new vehicle through which the united strength of the English and Afrikaner bourgeoisie, backed by international capitalism, could be consolidated.

Nevertheless, one must dispel any illusion that the sort of change for which the liberation movement is fighting can come about through any reform from within the ruling class. For the majority of South Africans, the election has been an irrelevance. As long as white rule continues, verlig, verkramp or PFP, the black majority will continue to suffer from discrimination and exploitation. The myth of the liberal economists that apartheid oppression will be destroyed by economic advance has been exploded by history. Despite the unprecedented economic advance of the last 50 years, black living standards have been eroded, black oppression has been intensified, black unemployment is at an all-time peak. The aim of the bourgeoisie in advocating reforms like the relaxation of influx control is not to benefit the workers so much as to bring about a greater mobility of labour, the training of Africans for skilled work at lower rates of pay than for whites, an increase in productivity of labour etc. because

this is the road to economic expansion and increased profits as well as international acceptability.

Black resistance to oppression is today more bitter and widespread, better organised than ever before, and increasingly effective blows are being inflicted on the citadels of white racism by Umkhonto we Sizwe, the workers on the shop floor, bus and rent protesters etc. And the response of the Botha regime has been to intensify the persecution and terror at home and to step up the aggression against the frontline states in an attempt to perpetuate white domination and privilege.

White racist aggression today has the open support of Reagan, Thatcher and other western leaders who regard all national liberation movements as their enemy. The proof of the correctness of the strategy and tactics of struggle adopted by the ANC and its allies is confirmed by the murderous methods adopted by the racists and imperialists to maintain their control of the sub-continent and, if possible, win back territories like Angola and Mozambique. There can be no illusions about the gravity of the tasks which confront the liberation movement.

Nevertheless, South Africa's freedom fighters can be confident that they are on the right road. Our history shows that white power tends to polarise when resistance to it reaches its greatest heights. The election results indicate that the whites are not retreating into the laager. Today white power in South Africa is more fractured, less united, less clear, more pessimistic than it has ever been. A sustained and intensified effort is needed from the liberation movement to make that fracture deeper and ultimately destroy the white power structure completely.

SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN'S DAY

August 9, South African Women's Day, has a firm place in our country's history. This year, 1981, sees the 25th anniversary of the day when 20,000 women marched on the Union Buildings, Pretoria, to protest against the extension of pass laws to women. This demonstration was one of the biggest and most moving in our history — 20,000 women standing in silent protest for 30 minutes, right hands held aloft in the ANC salute, while their leaders delivered a protest petition to Strijdom. The silence was broken only by the cries of infants on their mothers' backs until, at the end of the demonstration, freedom songs rang through the amphitheatre of the

bastion of the apartheid regime.

The demonstration was organised by the Federation of South African Women, formed in Johannesburg in April, 1954. At the time of the activities of the Joint Congress Committee — ANC, SAIC, SACPC and COD — it was a logical step to form a women's organisation embracing all the different racial groups.

At the head of the march on the Union Buildings were Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Fatima Moosa and Sophia Williams symbolising the unity of the different racial groups in the fight against oppression.

In spite of the size of the demonstration and the vast opposition to the new laws throughout the country, the regime was determined to bring about what all previous governments had tried and failed to do — extend the pass laws to African women.

The pass laws remain in force to this day — an essential ingredient of the continued oppression of our people. But the mood of the people has changed and is today one of militant determination to end the apartheid system. To this end they are ready to confront the enemy on every level. In the ranks of all those groups of militants who are fighting apartheid today can be found women — drawn into the struggle by women's organisations and the general involvement of the masses.

Women are in the front line side by side with their men, as political activists and trade unionists, as members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the African National Congress, the Communist Party and SACTU. Their contribution is vital to the success of our struggle.

CORRECTION

In *The African Communist,* issue No. 84, First Quarter, 1981, on page 47, appears the following sentence:

"The (imperialist) policy of establishing the progressive regimes in the developing countries is a virtual aggression which is being carried out by means of psychological, economic, political and other means including armed intervention".

The word "establishing" is a misprint for "destabilising".

THE
SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY SAYS:
SMASH THE FASCIST REPUBLIC.

Throughout the month of May the racists will be celebrating the 20th anniversary of the establishment of their fascist republic.

THE ENEMY WILL BE CELEBRATING:

- ◆ White minority domination!
- ◆ Police terror and brutality!
- ◆ Mass evictions to the Bantustans!
- ◆ Deprivation of citizenship for millions of South Africans!
- ◆ Harsher application of the pass laws and influx control!
- ◆ Assassination, imprisonment, banning, banishment, and torture of patriots!
- ◆ Super exploitation of the black working people!
- ◆ Armed aggression against independent Africa!

TWENTY YEARS
OF THE FASCIST REPUBLIC
IS
TWENTY YEARS
OF BRUTAL OPPRESSION AND DEPRIVATION
OF THE BLACK MAJORITY!

THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY SAYS:
PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA — ENOUGH IS ENOUGH!

- ◆ BOYCOTT the fascist Republic celebrations!
- ◆ DEMONSTRATE our rejection of apartheid rule!
- ◆ ISOLATE the racist tyrants and their stooges!

WORKERS! PEASANTS! YOUTH AND STUDENTS! PARENTS!
PATRIOTS! DEMOCRATS! FREEDOM FIGHTERS!

- ◆ UNITE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE FASCIST REPUBLIC!
- ◆ UNITE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR A PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC!
- ◆ UNITE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND SOCIALISM!

SMASH THE FASCIST REPUBLIC!
AMANDLA NGAWETHU! MAATLA KE ARONA!
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

The above leaflet was circulated by the underground Communist Party throughout South Africa in the days leading up to the racists' Republic Day on May 31.

S.A. COMMUNIST PARTY ANNIVERSARY ON JULY 30

IN RETROSPECT — 60 YEARS ON

by Toussaint

How are the achievements of one party in a many-partied political struggle to be separated from those of others? How does one decide: this was *our* contribution and achievement, all else the achievement of others?

Such questions are unanswerable. The history of the past 60 years is like a rich tapestry, in which only some of the threads represent the special contribution of the Communist Party. But pulling threads out of the cloth destroys both the pattern and the real worth of the tapestry. Our history, then, is properly to be read and understood only within the whole weave of history — within the complex inter-relationships built up on our side between Communists, African nationalists, trade unionists and liberal democrats, against, on the other side, the interlinked forces of boer and capitalist reaction, white supremacism and imperialism.

There is, however, much of the Communist Party's history which is unique unto itself. It would be possible to recount, for example, the many meetings and campaigns launched, the protests and struggles undertaken. It would be possible to append a list of members martyred in prisons or

killed in struggles, or of resolutions taken and programmes framed. But these, all together, amount to far less than the total achievement of the Communist Party. They are the main part of what is special to us alone — our own, *separate* record in these 60 years. All else, all the triumphs and advances no less than the retreats and defeats, are the shared heritage of Communists and all who were our allies in the national liberation movements and the trade unions.

To assess these achievements one must look not to the history of the Party alone, but to the whole history of the South African movement in struggle. Such a history is beyond the scope of this article. It has been done elsewhere, in several books, better than it can be done here.

But neither does this article claim to review the whole achievement of the Communist Party over 60 years. What is attempted here is an assessment of only one aspect of the record — the really vital contribution made by the Communist Party to the joint struggle — the Party's development of a real understanding of the relationship between proletarian revolution and national liberation in South Africa. Or, put another way, the relationship between the fight for socialism and the struggle for national liberation.

The Communist Party cannot claim to have been alone in debate and policy-making on this matter. But the historical record shows that the Party opened up the trail for others to follow. It developed a theory for itself and the whole South African movement, painfully, step by step; and even now it is still evolving new depths to that theory.

Today the whole problem of socialism and its relationship to national liberation develops in an atmosphere very different from the days when the Party was formed. Years of Party history, Party debate, Party struggle and public Party educational and propaganda work have wrought a change. Where once the Party alone grappled with this problem, now a common understanding of it unites the revolutionary movement. If there is now near unanimity of approach, and a shared understanding of what socialism and the national liberation movement contribute to each other, that is a testimony to the Party's search for understanding, and its ability to learn from its own experience and from the experience and wisdom of its allies.

If there *is* a strand of Communist Party history which can be separated from the whole tapestry, this is it — the Party's struggle to reconcile socialist and liberationist aspirations which runs like a theme-song through the whole of its 60 years.

The Search for Understanding

How can the class aims of the industrial proletariat be integrated with the national aspirations of an oppressed population? And that within a single country? The question is of course not unique to South Africa. In many places where capitalism has developed within a colonial frame the same challenge is to be faced. But in South Africa the issue has been most acute, and the solution most difficult.

When the party was formed in 1921, those sharp class-national divisions which still make South Africa unique were already deeply entrenched. A white proletariat monopolised all the skilled, well-paid jobs in mining and industry, it enjoyed most of the privileges of the ruling class. And by its side was a black proletariat, confined by law and custom to the unskilled, poorly-paid jobs, denied all social and political privileges or rights. How then was the Party to interpret its mission to be ".. the party of the proletariat", and its aim to bring about ".. proletarian revolution"?

The complexities were immense. The white proletariat was largely composed not of native sons but the first generation immigrants from the industrial complexes of Britain and elsewhere. They had brought with them not just their skills but also the ideas and experience of the European working class; those ideas persisted, only marginally adapted to the new and very different problems and conditions of South Africa. The black proletariat too was largely composed of first generation wage workers, fresh from tribal societies of the hinterland, often still with strong family and property ties with the countryside, and often in the industrial areas only on short-term contracts of less than a year.

From its founding conference, the Party struggled to orient its attack to these complex conditions. There were some obvious and simplistic answers to the questions posed by these conditions. First simple answer: the white proletariat was organised, with trade unions on the British model; it had experience of fierce class conflict with the ruling class derived from several bitterly fought strikes of the first world war and the post-war period; it had a sizeable socialist element which had built the Labour Party, and a number of smaller socialist groupings which had come together to found the Communist Party. Therefore, that white proletarian minority was the best organised, class conscious and socialistically oriented section of the population; and the proletarian party and the proletarian revolution accordingly would come from amongst them.

Second simple answer: The black proletariat was unorganised, and still only temporarily proletarian between intervals as peasants; the black

majority as a whole was largely pastoral, outside the class conflicts of the capitalist world; its nationalist aspirations were as yet only crudely formulated and supported only by a small, educated elite; its trade unions flickered ephemerally in struggle on single issues and then subsided into obscurity. Therefore, leadership of the proletarian revolution could not be expected from them.

Deep — Not Simple

But Marxism is not a science of simple and obvious conclusions drawn from the surface appearance of things. Marxism teaches people to look below the simple surface appearances to discover the real processes of growth and change going on underneath. From its beginnings, the South African Communist Party set out to build itself in the Marxist mould.

It was not simple. At the last conference in Johannesburg of the International Socialist League in January 1921, to which other organisations had been specially invited to discuss the formation of a single Communist Party covering the whole of South Africa, most of the 100 or so delegates who attended were white, though there were representatives from the Indian trade union movement in Durban and the African trade union movement in Johannesburg. This conference appointed a five-man unity committee which prepared the way for the founding conference in Cape Town in July 1921. The delegates at this our founding conference, which adopted a constitution and programme, elected the party leadership and applied for affiliation to the Communist International, were all white. Yet the records show that on the evening before the conference was opened, a public meeting in Cape Town at which the intention to launch the Party was made known was attended by an audience of over 2,000, the majority of whom were Coloured workers.

There were, at first, differences of emphasis and approach to the national problem amongst those who agreed to form the new Communist Party and adopted its programme. One group, mainly the skilled artisans of British origin, were influenced by their trade union experience and by the ideology of Tom Mann and Keir Hardie, as well as the more radical, syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) of America. The other group, mainly immigrants and refugees from Eastern Europe's tsarist persecution, took their inspiration from European radicalism — Social-Democrat, Marxist, anarchist or Jewish Bundist. The South African Communist Party was formed from the amalgam of these two different but

both almost entirely immigrant groups, in order — as its Manifesto said:

> ".. to hasten the time when mankind shall no longer cower under the bludgeon of the oppressor, when the necessaries and amenities of life, the comfort and culture, the honour and the power shall be to him who toils, not him who exploits; when none shall be called master and none servant, but all shall be fellow workers in common."

The very ring of phraseology is that of Europe's labour radicalism; and two trade unionist radicals, C.B. Tyler and W.H. "Bill" Andrews, were duly elected Chairman and Secretary.

Though there is little in the manifesto to indicate any real consciousness of the national problems of South Africa — or even that the overwhelming majority within the country were nationally oppressed by a master race — nevertheless the manifesto marked a new step forward for South African socialism. Up to now, socialism in South Africa had been represented chiefly: by the South African Labour Party, which proclaimed as *its* aim:

> ".. to secure for the workers by hand or by brain, the full fruits of their labour, due regard being had to the presence of an overwhelming majority of natives."

In breaking from the Labour Party mainly over the Labour Party's support for imperialist war, the founders of the Communist Party had been forced to confront not only the imperialist war, but also — in the arena of ideas — the nature of imperialism itself and of imperialist conquest of colonial peoples. Even before the Communist Party was formed, the International Socialist League had adopted a 'Charter of African Rights', and had begun the transition from abstract theorising about 'the overwhelming native majority' to the practical political work of opposing black oppression. In 1917 the ISL assisted with the formation of a general union of black workers, the Industrial Workers of Africa; and in 1919, during a strike of black workers on the gold mines, it had addressed the white workers:

> "White workers! Do you hear the new army of labour coming? The native workers are beginning to wake up. They are finding out that they are slaves to the big capitalists. But they want to rise. Why not? White workers! On which side you are you? . . . Your interests and theirs are the same as against the boss."

Seen through today's eyes, it seems little enough and scarcely touching basic South African realities of national oppression. Yet that little was in reality a tremendous pioneering break-through in white South Africa's political life. A new idea was launched upon the tide of struggle — that

black workers and whites could be allies in a common class front against capitalism. A new political direction had opened up. One of the profoundest Marxist thinkers and writers of his generation in South Africa, David Ivon Jones, said:

> "The ISL proclaimed the principle of industrial unionism... Craft unions were declared odious as dividing workers... And as part of this craft disunity, the exclusion of the native workers from part or lot in the Labour Movement was denounced as a crime."

Beyond Unionism

But even though caught in their traditional union-mindedness, Marxist thinkers could not rest content with that formulation. Their own anti-imperialist stance demanded that they face the fact of anti-imperialist organisations existing amongst the black population, however rudimentary they might be. Jones described the ANC of the time, somewhat short sightedly, as "... a middle-class organisation ... satisfied with agitation for civil equality and civil rights." But he foresaw the time, he said, when the organisations of the black *workers* would "... dominate or dispel the Congress." Then indeed there would be "... a revolutionary nationalist movement in the fullest meaning of Lenin's words."

It was in much this way that the early Communist fathers saw the ANC and the whole black nationalist movement of their times — as a 'middle-class' movement for justice, without revolutionary possibilities. They gave it what support and sympathy they could, and sought its co-operation wherever possible.

But beyond this, they were prisoners of the ideological conviction that in South Africa, already well established on the capitalist path, the main contradiction within the society was that between capital and labour; and that in the battles being fought out between these two main contending forces, the national struggle was secondary, or even irrelevant. Unless, as Jones suggested, the working class was to come to dominate or displace it, and transform it to a revolutionary force.

The main current of Communist ideology was that the revolutionary force in the country was the proletariat — and that the main task to be achieved was the revolutionary overthrow of bourgeois rule and the establishment of a socialist state; within that state all the problems of race and colour oppression would be solved.

It would be a mistake to assume that all Communists were totally agreed

on the precise formulations; some gave more emphasis to the role of national oppression and national liberation; some less. But clearly, in the period before and after the Party's founding all of them were moving steadily *against* the mainstream of South African politics to a new and deeper understanding. Each new move forward inevitably brought new contact and exchange of ideas between Communists, the ANC, and the rapidly developing general union of black workers, the ICU. Practical political work widened the Party's horizons; so too did contact, through the Communist International, with the experiences of revolutionaries of other countries; and so too did their growing access to and familiarity with the works of Lenin, then appearing, often for the first time, in English translation. Given time, new policy appraisals would surely have been made.

But time was something the new Party did not have; or at least not time of tranquillity in which to debate theories and develop long-term programmes. When the Party was being formed, the post-war economic depression had begun; the price of gold, mainstay of the whole economy, had fallen from 130 shillings per ounce in 1919 to 105 shillings in 1921 and 95 shillings by 1922. To maintain profits despite the falling price, the mine owners through the Transvaal Chamber of Mines decided to cut the costs of production by transferring some operations from white workers to black — thus changing the black-white ratio amongst the workers. That ratio, set by the Chamber by agreement with the white workers in 1917 had, characteristically, never been discussed with the black workers themselves.

The ratio established the basic pattern of South African labour policy. Changing the ratio meant different things for different people. For the white miners it meant that certain operations previously reserved for them would be lost, and handed to blacks at much lower rates of pay; for the black miners that some jobs from which they had previously been debarred on grounds of race alone would become open, even though at lower rates of pay than those earned by whites.

It was a time of turmoil. Radicalism, revolt and protest were in the air, fanned by the deepening depression, spurred on by the success of the Russian revolution, and by the failure of capitalists everywhere to produce that 'world-fit-for-heroes' which had been so glibly promised during the war. The white miners' unions had fought a succession of bitterly contested strikes since 1913; class consciousness and militancy was high. When the news came that the black-white ratio was to be changed to their disadvantage, the white miners struck work again.

Testing Time

Within a short space of time, other industries in the country's industrial heart joined the strike in solidarity, and the Witwatersrand was in the grip of a general strike of its artisans. Communists — leaders like Andrews as well as many rank and filers — held prominent positions in the leadership of the striking unions. Thus, while any strike would have called for sustained Communist agitation and leadership, this strike — posing in itself all the class and colour conflicts of South African society — was a specially critical challenge.

It was a peculiarly *South African* strike; The white artisans came out; but the black labourers stayed in, often locked into their compounds whether they wanted to be or not. For white workers it was a battle to maintain their working standards; but because these were racially privileged standards, the trade-union content of the strike was inextricably connected with its white-supremacist content. The slogan "workers of the world unite for a white South Africa" fully expressed that contradictory mix; and inevitably in a striker-versus-scab atmosphere ugly chauvinistic passions were roused. Inevitably for many of the strikers the enemy itself ceased to be just the bosses, and became a mixture of Chamber-of-Mines capitalists and threatening hordes of black workers.

Future generations of South Africans would have time and opportunity to debate, on the basis of principle and Marxist theory, whether the Communists of 1922 should have participated in the strike or not. But for *that* generation, the answers had to be given immediately, not in debating chambers but in the midst of widespread strike action against the most reactionary and dominant sector of the ruling bourgeoisie. In the atmosphere of the times, the Communists could perceive that militant revolutionary leadership could carry the strike well beyond a simple defence of established standards, and perhaps open up revolutionary potentialities so far-reaching that none could see where the limits lay. There is no evidence that the members of the party were in any doubt about what had to be done; nor, realistically, can they at that time have done anything other than they did without totally reversing their consistent belief in the role of the organised proletariat as the front-runner of the revolution.

The Party placed itself firmly with the strike ".. convinced that essentially this is a fight against the capitalist class"; but adding — in apparent reference to the 'white South Africa' slogan "... without necessarily identifying itself with every slogan heard in the strike."

Their course of action was clear; but there were certainly misgivings about the long-term consequences. In the midst of the actions that passed rapidly from strike to armed civil war, the Communists cannot have been unaware of the dangerous currents which the Chamber of Mines had let loose, and on which some white workers' chauvinism was feeding. Bill Andrews, a member of the strikers' Council of Action and one of its most prominent spokesmen, wrote privately to a friend about the strike for which he worked tirelessly and at great personal risk:

> "My private opinion is that it will inevitably be lost; it is ... impossible for the white workers in South Africa permanently to keep the natives out of any form of industry they are capable of undertaking."

Inevitably perhaps. Yet the strike had to be fought, and the Communists fought in it willingly, carrying a unique message: 'The black workers are not your enemies, but potential allies against the capitalist class.' How effective their message was in muting the tide of white chauvinism is not clear; nor is it clear whether the party, had it wished to do so, could have breached the police and army cordons round the mine compounds to reach out also to the black miners.

The development of the strike confirmed rather than undermined Communist beliefs in the revolutionary potential of the organised white workers. The strikers passed rapidly from picketing to the formation of armed detachments, 'commandos'; there was open war against the armed forces of the state, and martial law was proclaimed. What the bourgeois press had declared from the start to be a "revolt" became in fact a revolt against the bourgeois state; and all the armed might of the state had finally to be called out to crush it. The white miners returned to work beaten; but the Chamber of Mines refrained in fear from carrying though the changed black-white ratio which had caused it all.

Semanticists may argue whether the strike was therefore lost or won. It is no longer relevant. One thing is certain. The white proletariat had risen to challenge the bourgeois state alone; and it had been mauled beyond recovery. Whether the Communists knew it at the time or not, the summit of white revolutionary militancy had been passed, and the descent from the heights had begun. The white proletariat had ended its last act as a class, opposed to and independent of the ruling class. In the strike it had proved itself to be a stubborn, die-hard defender of the entrenched privileges of the white workers; and thus, willy-nilly, of the whole white-supremacist system of black oppression which the ruling class had built to serve its own interests. From here on, through an intricate web of laws,

compromises and concessions too detailed to be traced here, the white proletariat entered the long descent from the brink of revolution to become an agent of the ruling class.

The Communist Party's own re-appraisal of the role and revolutionary potential of the white proletariat could no longer be delayed. That class, once visualised as the vanguard of the South African revolution, drifted deeper and deeper into opportunism; it embraced a Labour Party-Nationalist Party coalition to sweep the architect of martial law, General Smuts, from office; it supported and urged on the new coalition government to entrench white supremacy more fiercely than ever. A 'civilised labour' policy was proclaimed, sacking blacks from state jobs and replacing them with whites; a colour bar in industry, reserving most skilled jobs for whites only; a Native Administration Act, debarring blacks from the general process of law and transferring them to the administrations of an army of civil servants; a Land Act to reserve 87% of the country exclusively for white ownership and occupation; and an Industrial Conciliation Act, which traded the right to strike in exchange for white union rights to organise and bargain with employers.

As the white working class passed over to opportunism, the Communist Party painfully sought to re-orient its ideology. As its isolation from the white workers grew, its association with the black workers through the ICU and with black nationalists through the ANC flourished. Its activity amongst the white workers declined; and its activities amongst the blacks increased. In 1924, the Party Conference rejected a proposal to follow the line of the British Communists and seek affiliation to the Labour Party; and decided instead to concentrate its work increasingly amongst blacks. That decision signalled the decisive break with former under-valuing of the revolutionary potential of the black workers, and was reflected in the election of two proponents of the new concentration, S.P. Bunting and E. Roux, as chairman and vice-chairman of the Party.

The 1924 Conference, nevertheless, remained heavily weighted towards industrial struggle, and still tentative and unsure in its stance on the role of national liberation struggle in the revolution. The Party, it declared

> "... aims at forwarding the industrial organisations of all sections of the workers, especially those hitherto unorganised. ... The problems of the working class can only be solved by a United Front of all workers irrespective of colour."

That new emphasis on organising amongst black workers produced considerable strains in the Party ranks. Some members deeply involved in

the white trade unions found the new emphasis difficult to adapt to; some drifted out of the party, others like Andrews retired from the leadership. The field was left to a new generation of Communists, including for the first time a generation of native South Africans, black and white, who had come up through the ranks of the Young Communist League. Andrews in a press interview at the time denied any split in the party ranks; he fully supported the decisions to organise amongst blacks but "... disagreed with the emphasis and speed with which the new leadership of the Party proposed to tackle the job."

The New Turn

From one point of view his disagreement might have seemed well founded. The new speed and emphasis of the Party's turn towards the blacks completed its isolation from a white working class which was drifting in the opposite direction. That isolation has never been healed. But in another sense, his fears were mistaken. The new line, for all the energy given to it, stopped short of a complete reappraisal of attitude towards the national struggle. Nevertheless, the new direction of work brought a first generation of black Communists to the forefront of the scene — Albert Nzula, J.B. Marks, Edwin Mofutsanyana, Moses Kotane and others; they opened the way to the real breakthrough, by combining membership and work in the Party with membership and work for national liberation in the ranks of the ANC.

Left to itself, perhaps, the whole Party would have made a complete reappraisal of the national struggle in due course, moved by experience of the new line, and by the new influence of black, thus nationally oppressed Communists in the ranks. But it was not left to itself. Outside intervention forced the pace of fundamental change. That intervention came from the Communist International, in a discussion initiated in 1927-28 on "The Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies." The Comintern thesis dealt with South African problems in a way which sharply challenged the traditional South African Party view of the role of class and national struggles. The South African delegation to the Comintern Conference was mandated to oppose that thesis, and reiterate its own.

Speaking for the delegation, Bunting criticised the CI distinction between the 'proletariat' in the advanced capitalist countries, and the 'masses' in the colonies. There was, he declared, no distinction. In both situations the class issues were primary, the national issues secondary. The only national struggle in South Africa had been that of the Afrikaners, not

the blacks. Practical demands for the end of race discrimination and for redistribution of the land would not be won by way of national struggle. "The class struggle is more capable of accomplishing the same tasks." He described the ANC as moribund, and declared that "The Communist Party itself is the actual or potential leader of the native national movement."

The Comintern disagreed. It declared that South African blacks "... suffer simultaneously from capitalist and pre-capitalist forms of exploitation and oppression." It called on the S.A. Communist Party to struggle ceaselessly against inequality in society, and against race prejudice amongst the white workers and in the Party's own ranks, and for national liberation of the black majority. Finally it declared, in words which were to shock the Party into a decisive turn in its history:

> "The Party must determinedly and consistently put forward the creation of an independent native republic, with simultaneous guarantees for the rights of the white majority, and struggle in deeds for its realisation."

That decision, soon to become known as the 'Black Republic Resolution', provided a fundamentally new Marxist appraisal of the South African scene, ending the orientation which the immigrant Party founders had carried over from their European experience.

The South African Party accepted the Comintern decision as it was constitutionally bound to do; but not without difficulty and some formidable resistance within the Party. The times themselves were beset with difficulties — a world drifting into its deepest and longest economic slump, accompanied by collapse of parliamentary governments, and the rise to power of fascist dictatorships. It was a world of turmoil, with seething currents of revolution and of despair. The Party leadership struggled to carry the Comintern line of policy into their own ranks, beset by fierce internal disputes. Factions formed — or were alleged to have formed — to campaign in the Party for one view or another; only to be denounced and expelled from the Party by other factions with other views. Superficially it might appear as a period of senseless internecine war. But in reality it was the birth-pangs of a new Party orientation coming to life from within the body of the old. The internal struggle was long, painfully prolonged, and devastatingly weakening of the Party's structure. Membership declined, publications withered.

In the worst, most destructive phase of the inner struggle, a doctrinaire attempt to "bolshevise" the Party led to the purging of all considered to fall short of "Bolshevik" standards of perfection. Before the storm passed,

many of the best of the old leaders, including Bunting and Andrews themselves, fell victim to the purgers. By the time the purge had exhausted itself, and the fiercest of the purgers had returned to their European countries of origin, Bunting was dead, but Andrews returned to the ranks. The Party, organisationally, was at its lowest ebb.

But even so something new had been born. The old concepts, the old dogmas which had been so sharply challenged by the Comintern had been exorcised from the Party's ideology. A single, clear line of policy had emerged and been accepted, grounded in South African reality. The surviving Party remnants had made the full turn — from rejection of the national struggle to close integration of class and national struggles. When the storm blew itself out, the Party members were fully part of the black national struggle, fully integrated in the national liberation movement, and for the first time truly a part of it — albeit a special, socialist part. A new generation of Communists helped revive national liberation organisations of the Indian and Coloured minorities, and rebuilt the black trade unions and brought them into a co-ordinating Council of Non-European Trade Unions.

A New Era

In the deep decline at the end of the internal strife, the 1938 Party Conference decided to remove its headquarters from Johannesburg — the storm-centre of the inner strife — to the calmer atmosphere of Cape Town. It was a measure of desperation, a retreat from the industrial centre of the country to its periphery, from the advanced centre of the black urbanised working class to an almost un-South African harbourage where, uniquely, Africans were not yet even a majority of the population.

That retreat made a new advance possible. Under the leadership of Andrews and Kotane the Party was rebuilt from the wreckage. New district committees were set up, new members recruited, and new publications started — their names *Inkululeko* and *Freedom* telling of the new orientation of the reborn Party.

Almost the entire membership was, for the first time, South African born, of a younger generation than the Party founders. The overwhelming majority of them were activists in the national organisations of the African, Indian and Coloured people, or in the black trade unions. White trade unionists were few, even though those few occupied positions of some influence and authority in the white union movement, especially in light manufacturing.

The new ideological directions were not proclaimed in any single sweeping manifesto or programme, but were adopted pragmatically, step by step, in response to problems which arose in practical work. Though the black liberationist content of the Comintern's line was the lodestar of its work, the reviving party moved from the 'independent native republic' slogan towards an increasingly articulate struggle for national liberation of the black majority as the first stage of a transformation towards socialism; and towards a new understanding that within the black liberation movement which was an alliance of classes, the working class was the best fitted to unite and to lead the rest in common struggle, because it was the most consistently revolutionary class.

The 1940s — the years of the second world war and its aftermath — were years of unbroken advance for the Party. That advance reflected itself in profoundly changed relations between the Party and the national liberation organisations of the oppressed, and through those changed relationships, in the vast upsurge of national consciousness and the spirit of struggle for liberation which marked the wartime and the post-war years.

In unity and co-operation with the most radical and devoted elements of the national movements, the Communists lent impetus to new leftward currents which re-inspired and revitalised the movements, rescuing them from the passivity and drift which were left after the setbacks of Hertzog's 'Native Laws.' In the national movements themselves, new leading cores reformed the antiquated constitutional forms of organisation and of activity, fossilised into routine and 'parliamentary' style strait-jackets.

Exclusive reliance on acceptable parliamentary forms of action, which had characterised the past twenty years of the national movement, began to come to an end. New leaderships launched new struggles — the first mass struggles for many years; passive resistance, mass defiance of law, strikes and protest marches became the order of the day. New leaderships, steeped in the spirit of mass struggle, took over from the old; gradually the inherited pattern of racial exclusiveness began to give way and the building of real organisational unity between African, Indian and Coloured movements commenced. That unity in action and in struggle culminated in the formation of an alliance, colloquially called the 'Congress Movement', whose political campaigns dominated the country's political scene in the post-war period.

In this fruitful new era, there was a unity of purpose and of outlook in the ranks of the Party such as it had seldom had before. It remained signally free of internal disputes under the leadership of its Cape Town

committee; and for fear of reopening new schisms the decision to return the leading centre to Johannesburg — so obviously called for by the country's political geography — was never taken.

The Crisis Reversed

In 1946, as in 1922, crisis erupted on the Witwatersrand mines. But this time it was a crisis turned on its head by the new balance of forces in the country. This time, white miners stood by as inert props of the reactionary mine-owners and government; and black miners led the assault against the heartland of capital, the Chamber of Mines. A trade union of black miners had been built up during the war years under the leadership of the veteran Communist J.B. Marks. It fought a mass campaign for better pay through a long series of Wage Board hearings, Commissions of Inquiry and localised demonstrations.

But in 1946, when the government — again, as in 1922, led by General Smuts — refused to accept even the wage recommendations of its own Commission of Inquiry, 75,000 black miners downed tools.

The reversal of history was complete. While black workers struck, white miners volunteered to keep the mines going. If ever Ivon Jones' prophetic vision of a black proletarian vanguard was realised, it was here. Once again, as in 1922, the Smuts government proclaimed the strike to be a revolt; but this time counter-action was not delayed. From the first day of the strike, a massive police force was turned loose against the strikers. Police baton-charged workers to drive them out of the mine compounds and herd them down the shafts. When workers sat down underground, police followed and batoned them back to the surface again. Strikers attempting to gather near compounds were fired on and savagely attacked, and those seeking to leave the compounds and the mines were driven back by baton and gunshot.

Within a week the strike had been crushed by virtual martial law. But that was not the end. Again, standing on its head the aftermath of 1922 where white miners and their allies had retaliated by ousting the Smuts government, now the Smuts government sought retribution for the strike by setting out to destroy the black miners' union and its allies — particularly the Communist Party. The Party had assisted the organising of the miners, it had participated in all their campaigns up to and during their strike. In Johannesburg the Party District Committee and many rank and file members were arrested together with all the officials of the African Mine Workers' Union, and charged under the Riotous Assembly Act. The

charge collapsed for lack of evidence, although the accused were convicted on a minor charge. Immediately afterwards, the members of the Cape Town Central Committee of the Party were arrested, and charged with sedition. That case, too, after some time collapsed.

It was a warning signal which should have been clear beyond mistaking; the party's legality was under challenge, and the end of twenty-five years of legal existence threatened. If the prosecutions did not alert the Party to the warning, the general election campaign shortly thereafter, in which Smuts, Hertzog and Malan vied with each other in promising anti-Communist action — should have.

But the party concentrated attention completely on tasks of the moment beating off the prosecutions, and campaigning for the right of all to vote. Consideration of the warning signs of approaching illegality and of preparations to meet that contingency were pushed aside, to prevent the organisation being distracted from the main, practical, task of mass mobilisation.

Even after the white electorate had voted into power the Nationalist Party representing the most chauvinist and fascist-minded section of the white population, the Party continued to act as a political party with legal rights to operate, almost as though nothing had changed. Its example of staying in the front line without wavering, even in the face of an imminent and powerful enemy attack, influenced the whole spirit of the opposition movement. In 1949 the ANC adopted a new Programme of Action, setting its course on mass struggle by way of strikes, boycotts and acts of defiance. In 1950, in answer to a joint call by the Party and national organisations the first mass political general strike was successfully organised on the Witwatersrand. But in yet another signal of what was to come, the government responded with a total ban on meetings and processions, mass police cordons around all black townships and armed attack on gatherings of 'stay-at-home' protesters, which left eighteen dead and over thirty seriously wounded.

It was in that atmosphere of violence and terror that the Government introduced legislation to suppress the Party, and to make all extra-Parliamentary action to change the social system a crime — "statutory Communism". The Party reacted to the now open threat with renewed mass public campaigning. The national liberation movements, recognising the Suppression of Communism Act as a patent threat to their own existence, joined in to organise mass protest.

It was characteristic of the Party of that time that it concentrated almost

totally on the practical tasks of the moment. Although the threat of suppression had been looming for months, perhaps even years, the first serious Party meeting to consider how to face illegality was held while the new law was already passing through the early stages of debate in Parliament. That emergency meeting of the Central Committee revealed all the weaknesses that grow out of narrow practicalism. The meeting decided (with two against) to dissolve the Party. The general view was that, since virtually all its members were known to the police and therefore vulnerable, the Party could not ignore the law and just carry on secretly underground. Nor could it hope to change its name and continue, since the terms of the law made that equally illegal. There was some — but too little — consideration of the implications for country and people if there was to be no Communist Party; and little consideration of whether the whole prospect of South African freedom would survive if the independent class party of the working class, inspired by Marxism, perished. The meeting turned its main attention to practicalities and the terms of the law; it decided that failure to dissolve the Party would render each member liable to prosecution; and it thus concluded that the Party could neither continue nor be allowed to wither away; it must be dissolved.

An End and a Beginning

No one, it must be said, ran away. The CC decided that dissolution would come into effect only on the day the new Suppression Act became law. Until that moment, the membership would continue mobilising mass resistance to the measure; they should not be diverted from that task by prior word of the dissolution. In fact it was only within days of the actual dissolution that the Party membership was informed. Many of them accepted the decision with a mistaken conviction that an underground apparatus *must* already have been prepared, but could not be spoken about for reasons of security. Before the membership realised that the CC had taken no such steps — and had in fact decided not to take any because it did not believe that it could be successful so fully was it membership known to the authorities — the Party had been dissolved, its publications closed, its assets, archives and finances dispersed.

In its programme adopted in 1962, the Central Committee of the Party criticised the decision to dissolve the party as follows:

"Despite its great achievements and struggles, the Communist Party of South Africa proved incapable of surviving under illegal conditions. Legalistic illusions had penetrated into the ranks of the Party, including its

leading personnel. The Party was unprepared and unable to work underground. These errors culminated in the dissolution of the Party. . ." The dissolution was not a momentary aberration but the culmination of an era in which narrow practicalism had been given precedence over theory.

The Party had shown several times in its history a remarkable ability to rejuvenate itself, correcting both its mistakes and the legacy of those mistakes. Another remarkable demonstration of that ability was given in the reconstruction, shortly after the dissolution, of a new Communist Party — the SACP, distinguished from and yet indentified with and continuing the best traditions of the former CPSA. In the new underground organisation, the majority of the former Party members once again took up active work amongst the people, and specially within the still legal national liberation and trade union organisations.

Despite the formidable legal difficulties and the persecutions, the people's struggle maintained its advance. Mass political strikes, mass defiance campaigns and the first rural resistance struggles moving towards incipient armed revolt came to maturity in this period of new experience. Militant struggle brought the organisations into a closer unity, emphasised by the adoption of the Freedom Charter as the common aim of all the liberation movements in the Congress camp, so close in its concepts to the programme of the reborn Communist Party that, in this period, the whole South African movement for the first time had a single agreed immediate programme. That programme was for the revolutionary transformation of the South African state, through the abolition of all discriminatory laws and practices; and for the establishment of a people's democratic order in which the main fortresses of white monopoly — the land, mines and finance — would be returned to the people.

It was a period to test the inner fibres of the whole movement — with mass trials, jailings, torture and banishments commonplace. Police shootings grew more frequent, and mass reactions more fierce. In protest at the Sharpeville massacres, the ANC called for a national general strike of protest, and Chief Lutuli led a national campaign of pass burning. The government stepped up the repression, proclaiming a State of Emergency and substituting martial law for the rule of law. Amidst mass arrests and detentions, without trial, the ANC was outlawed.

Outlawing the opposition had ironically unexpected consequences. Outlawing the Communist Party and forcing it to reform secretly underground had eliminated any lingering nationalist fears that the Party was somehow a rival, trying to steal the thunder of the national movements

or usurp their leadership; it thus laid the ground for a closer unity between the liberation movements and the Communists. Outlawing the ANC removed a barrier in the way of constant and public co-operation of ANC and Communist Party, which had existed while one worked underground and the other remained legal and above ground.

The ANC decided to ignore its suppression, and to continue to work underground. But that work could not continue in the old way. The Government had shed the final pretence of Parliamentary democracy, and demonstrated that from here on every act of protest would be met with unrestrained force and violence. And the people were demonstrating that they were increasingly unwilling to resort to protest unarmed in the face of a violent armed state.

In this atmosphere of confrontation and incipient violence, the new Communist Party marked the end of the age of narrow practicalism in a long inner debate, leading to the final adoption of a new programme — without doubt the most penetrating analysis of South Africa's reality they had yet made.

> "As its immediate task the SACP works for a united front of liberation. It strives to unite all sections of oppressed and democratic people for a national democratic revolution to destroy white domination. The main content of this revolution will be the national liberation of the African people. Carried to its fulfilment, this revolution will at the same time put an end to every sort of race discrimination and privilege. The revolution will restore the land and the wealth of the country to the people. . . The destruction of colonialism and the winning of national freedom is the essential condition and the key for future advance to the supreme aim of the Communist Party — the establishment of a Socialist South Africa, laying the foundation of a classless, communist society."

That programme, adopted at an underground conference in 1962, dealt with the evidence that non-violent means of struggle could no longer be expected to be the only means.

> "The Nationalists are forcing a solution on South Africa in which patriots and democrats will take up arms to defend themselves, organise guerilla armies and undertake various acts of armed resistance, culminating in a mass insurrection against white domination. . . The Party does not dismiss all prospects of non-violent transition to the democratic revolution. This prospect will be enhanced by the development of revolutionary and militant people's forces."

By the time the inner discussion in the Party ended with the adoption of the Programme, the solution had already become a reality, by the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe as a broad people's armed force. The ANC and the Party together organised its first units, and launched them into action in sabotage attacks on state installations in December 1961.

The new era, in which people's armed action takes an increasingly important part in the mass revolutionary struggle had opened; and we are still, in 1981, twenty years on, living through its maturing.

Full Circle?

The turn to armed action has tested the mettle of the South African Party and of its allies to the utmost. Perhaps the last lingering traces of earlier 'practicalism' helped to obscure the violent reprisals that the turn to armed struggle would provoke; or perhaps it was that adequate discussion of the likely reprisals, and thus of the preparations needed to meet them, was made extraordinarily difficult by the illegal and hunted nature of the Party's existence. Whatever the reason, many vital questions remained unanswered: how, for example, would the transition from sabotage take place? And how could the future of the movement be protected from the onslaught that would follow sabotage? In the event, the state resorted to a ferocity of reprisal which almost decimated the movement, which smashed the Party headquarters and penetrated deeply into its membership cells; and which finally made the retreat of the Party and the ANC leadership into temporary exile abroad essential if anything was to be saved for rebuilding.

It is not the purpose of this article to traverse the familiar ground of the history of the Party or the South African movement since 1961, its reconstruction outside the country, its building up of new cadres and a new guerilla army, its rebuilding of active revolutionary units within the country once again, and its launching of growing guerilla action against the South African state.

The establishment of leading Party and ANC centres abroad was always a temporary measure; it is still temporary. It was a retreat under fire, made in order to prepare for a new advance in the long battle which our people and our Party have waged against the white supremacist state. And now events show that the retreat has served its purpose. The steady re-advance of our forces inside and outside the country against that state is now the main feature of the South African political scene.

We are at the end of sixty years of Party history. And yet again at a beginning. History has come full circle. Once again, as in 1921 at its founding, the Party's task is to build up amongst the working people inside the country a Marxist Leninist party, based on the very highest standards of discipline and understanding — a party proving itself not by what positions it manages to seize but by how it mobilises the fighting spirit and

unity of the masses; a party drawn from within the real South African working class, which remains — as it always has been — the best organised, most resolute and most revolutionary section of our people.

And yet not quite full circle. For where the founders of the Party set out on that task with tenuous roots amongst the native population, black and white, with little experience to guide them, the Party today marches in the midst of a fraternity of our people, in the heart of an alliance with the national movements of all the people, and above all the black majority represented by the ANC. It marches with an army developed over the years, baptised in all the rigours of legal and illegal struggle, survivors of all the tests of imprisonment and torture. It marches with a morale born of confidence. Sixty years have shown that our movement is indestructible, and our programme a developing testimony to the truthfulness of Marxism-Leninism as a guide to revolutionary action.

It is not, indeed, a full circle we have come, but a spiral, moving constantly forward and up over sixty years. And now set on the road back, to our homeland and the victory of the revolution. In our lifetime!

§§§

26th CONGRESS OF THE CPSU:

THE VOICE OF REASON, PEACE, FREEDOM AND SOCIALISM

by Yusuf Dadoo, national chairman, and Moses Mabhida, general secretary of the South African Communist Party

Over the past year leading political and military spokesmen of US imperialism have made more and more bellicose statements and assumed ever greater threatening postures on international questions. Following the US elections of last November, the Reagan administration has intensified its strident war-like speeches and consequently contributed to a further deterioration of the international situation. Today some of them are propagating the view that a limited nuclear war with the Soviet Union is not only possible but also tolerable.

What a horrific and frightening point of view! For these people detente is a one-way street in which the imperialists may commit aggression with impunity against the working people of the world and behave as if the natural resources of our countries and of the oceans are the property of the US government and monopoly capital.

In this highly charged international atmosphere the voice of reason and peace is of the utmost significance. In total contrast to the strident, aggressive hysteria of US imperialism is the report of the Central Committee to the 26th Congress of the CPSU, delivered by comrade L.I.

Brezhnev. This was indeed the voice of reason and peace. There was not the slightest note of threat or confrontation addressed to any country or people.

The report develops further the Peace Programme of the 24th and 25th Congresses of the CPSU, emphasising the need for world peace, detente including the military sphere, the curbing of the arms race and the relaxation of international tension. As comrade Brezhnev said:

> "A war danger does exist for the United States, as it does for all the other countries of the world. But the source of the danger is not the Soviet Union, nor any mythical Soviet superiority, but it is the arms race and the tension that still prevails in the world. We are prepared to combat this true and not imaginary danger hand in hand with the United States, with the countries of Europe, with all the countries in the world. To try and outstrip each other in the arms race or to expect to win a nuclear war, is dangerous madness."

The report contains a number of significant proposals. It stresses the need for a series of confidence-building measures, including a dialogue between the USA and USSR; the limitation of strategic weapons and of new and even more destructive submarines; an international conference to help find a solution to the Middle East question, in which the PLO would participate; to make the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf a zone of peace; a moratorium on the deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe; the creation of an international committee composed of eminent persons to study and demonstrate the "vital necessity of preventing a nuclear catastrophe"; and finally the holding of a special session of the UN Security Council attended by the foremost leaders to examine ways and means of improving the international situation.

This voice of reason and peace gives hope to millions throughout the world that the warmongers and the most aggressive circles of world imperialism can be prevented from plunging the world into a nuclear holocaust. We cannot but endorse the words of Brezhnev when he said that the new measures proposed in the report

> "pursue a single aim, our one common aspiration — to do everything possible to relieve the peoples of the danger of a nuclear war, to preserve world peace... To safeguard peace — no task is more important now on the international plane for our Party, for our people and, for that matter, for all the peoples of the world."

With the rest of the Soviet and foreign delegates we followed with rapt attention this profoundly Marxist-Leninist and realistic report. Every Congress of the CPSU is of immense significance for the Soviet Union, the socialist world and the world revolutionary movement. The Soviet Union

stands, as it has done for over 60 years, as the beacon and shield for all those fighting for a better life free from the scourge and ravages of poverty, ignorance, disease, illiteracy, racism, fascism, colonialism and the exploitation of man by man. This was eloquently expressed by Fidel Castro Ruz who declared to stormy applause:

> "The new world, where the old colonial empires have crumbled, a world where socialism is gaining strength and spreading, a world which has initiated an epoch of freedom and national independence hitherto unknown in history — this world has become possible thanks to the existence of the USSR, to its firm and principled Marxist-Leninist internationalist policy and, in the final analysis, thanks to its strength, which imperialism could not and cannot fail to take into consideration."

Representative Gathering

The historic 26th Congress of the CPSU took place at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses from February 23 to March 3, 1981. There were 5,002 Soviet delegates, of whom 1,370 were industrial and 877 agricultural workers. Over one quarter were women and 50 nationalities were represented. The latter point was vividly illustrated every day by the multi-coloured, multi-national faces, features and dress of the delegates. We saw the women and men of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and other places dressed in their colourful national costumes symbolising the unity and cohesiveness of the CPSU. The Congress hall was filled with delegates who had, by their honest labour and toil for the common good, richly deserved the highest honours and distinctions which the CPSU and Soviet government could bestow on them. These delegates were no arm-chair theoreticians. They were the life and blood of the heroic Soviet people.

We were deeply moved by the revolutionary and militant enthusiasm of the CPSU delegates. We had to remind ourselves that they were representing a Party which had won power in November 1917. Here were the heirs of the great Bolsheviks, no less fervent in their commitment to create a better life, not only for their own people, but for all humanity. There is no other Party which has produced such selfless, devoted and disciplined communists, such tenacious fighters for peace, freedom and socialism.

We were truly privileged and honoured to be able to meet and discuss with these delegates as well as those from foreign countries. The high esteem enjoyed by the CPSU and the striking expression of international solidarity were reflected in the presence of 123 delegations from 109

countries representing the world working class and national liberation movements. From Africa alone there were 33 Parties, including the ANC and SWAPO. There were heads of states from the countries of the socialist community, Angola, Ethiopia, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and Afghanistan. In addition there were hundreds of journalists covering the Congress. Moscow was certainly the centre of world attention. In their speeches, the fraternal delegates, with a tiny exception, fully supported the positions of the CPSU on the most burning questions of our time.

This is not — as the hacks of the bourgeois press allege — because we are puppets of the Soviet Union, but because the class, principled, realistic, mature positions and attitudes of the Soviet Union strike a responsive chord amongst all those who love peace, freedom and social progress. The reports of comrades Brezhnev and Tikhonov, the contributions of the Soviet delegates are a model of Marxist-Leninist thinking and demonstrate the high level of theoretical understanding and maturity of the Party of the great Lenin. We wish to single out some of the important aspects of comrade Brezhnev's report, a report which should be studied in depth by communists and other revolutionaries throughout the world.

Economic and Social Development

The Congress unanimously adopted and approved the guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the USSR for 1981-1985 and for the period ending in 1990. Everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man and for the steady and further improvement of the well-being of the Soviet people in all walks of life — consumer goods, housing, cultural and recreational facilities, working and living conditions — these are the central objectives of the new Eleventh Five Year Plan. Under this plan, national income is to increase by 18-20%; industrial production by 26-28% and agricultural production by 12-14%. Capital investments are estimated at 711-730 thousand million roubles.

The impressive socio-economic achievements of the Soviet Union, the confident tone and content of the Eleventh Five Year Plan naturally fill the communists and all Soviet people with pride. What a contrast to the capitalist world. There we find rampant inflation, endemic and soaring unemployment, reduced social services, and moral and ideological bankruptcy. All this and more indicates that capitalism has outlived its usefulness. It is a fetter to the further socio-economic and political

development of the people. As long as capitalism remains in operation, the peoples of these countries have only a bleak future before them.

A further proof of this can be seen in the budgets of the USA and Great Britain. Reagan and Thatcher have launched an attack upon the poor, the infirm, the children, pensioners, taking from those whom society should protect and giving to the rich. On the other hand socialism on a world scale — notwithstanding the problems in one or more countries — lives and is steadily developing and becoming stronger.

The reports of comrades Brezhnev and Tikhonov are also a model of Marxist-Leninist theoretical and practical approach to scientific communism. An all-embracing, multi-faceted survey of social and economic development including a programmatic analysis is a feature of both reports. But they do not only deal with their achievements. They also analyse in depth the omissions, mistakes and shortcomings. Every sphere of socio-economic life and activity: transport, energy, production of foodstuffs, production of quality consumer goods, distribution and exchange and the scaling down by some people of planned targets — all came in for a searching, self-critical analysis. There is in this a lesson for all communists; how to apply the method of criticism and self-criticism creatively.

Two excerpts from Brezhnev's report will demonstrate the serious and realistic way in which this question was treated. He said:

> "But not infrequently one still encounters intolerable delays in introducing promising innovations into production... Production has to be vitally interested in making quicker and better use of the fruits of the thought and work of scientists and designers. Solving this problem is, of course, not a simple matter — it requires breaking down outdated customs and indicators. But it is absolutely essential for the country, for the people, for our future."

And again:

> "Concrete concern for the concrete person, for his needs and requirements is the alpha and omega of the Party's economic policy. I am reminding you of this to re-emphasise a simple but very important point: the production of goods for the population and the expansion of consumer services are a prime Party concern. And that is how they should be treated."

Brezhnev's report also dealt with questions relating to the socialist community, the world communist movement and the national liberation movement. These aspects of the report demonstrate with the force of a whirlwind the class, principled, internationalist position of the CPSU and the Soviet Union. Proletarian international solidarity was expressed with us and with the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO in the

struggle to liberate our countries from the yoke of racism, colonialism, apartheid and fascism. This was indeed the voice of freedom. How different from the demagogy of the Reagan administration which brands the freedom fighters of our country and others as terrorists. The real international terrorists are, to be sure, stalking around the corridors of power in Washington, London and Pretoria.

Support for Africa

We felt greatly heartened by the support expressed not only for our own struggle but also for the social progress of the independent African countries. Special mention was made of those countries which have opted for socialist development. All of the representatives of independent Africa expressed their warmest gratitude to the CPSU and the Soviet Union for their disinterested, all-round material and moral support. As José Eduardo dos Santos, Chairman of the MPLA-Party of Labour and President of Angola, said:

> "The 26th CPSU Congress will definitely provide a new impetus for the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples who have always received resolute support from the USSR. We received support and assistance from the country of Lenin throughout our 15-year liberation struggle and have been receiving it for the five years that we have been building up our country."

He also singled out the "contribution by the gallant Cuban internationalists, who went into battle shoulder to shoulder with the MPLA soldiers, not sparing their own lives so that Angola could uphold her independence and begin building a new society."

Concern for communists fighting in the most arduous and difficult conditions was vividly expressed in Brezhnev's report. When we listened to these words we thought about the freedom fighters in the ANC, SACTU and SACP who have fallen in the struggle or are languishing in the fascist dungeons. We thought of Johannes Nkosi, Vuyisile Mini, Solomon Mahlangu, William Khanyile and others recently brutally murdered in Mozambique, Nelson Mandela, Dorothy Nyembe, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Denis Goldberg and all other prisoners of war. We are confident that those in prison or in the underground will be greatly encouraged by the words of comrade Brezhnev. He declared:

> "Comrades, despite terror and persecution, despite prison and the barbed wire of concentration camps, in selfless and often very difficult everyday work for the good of the peoples, Communists in the capitalist countries remain loyal to the

ideals of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

"We express our deep-felt solidarity with our Communist brothers languishing in the dungeons of fascist dictatorships, with those persecuted by the police or fighting their hard battles underground. We express our solidarity with those subjected to discrimination and deprived of civil and political rights merely for their convictions, for belonging to the party of the working class. Honour and glory to Communists, courageous fighters for the people's cause."

The Role of the Party

We were highly impressed by the assessment and analysis of the role of the Communist Party in building an advanced socialist society and laying the foundations for the transition to communism. A Communist Party, if it is to fulfil its historic mission, must be the intellect, honour and conscience of the working people, must know and respond sensitively to the needs, aspirations and grievances of the masses. Communists should always be in the thick of the class struggle and know the thinking of the people. Only by the deeds of its members can the Communist Party emerge as the vanguard of the revolution. The resolve, commitment, unyielding dedication and discipline of the Soviet communists is an example to all communists wherever they may be.

Today the CPSU has 17,480,000 members, of whom 43.4% are factory workers, 12.8% collective farmers and 43.8% members of the technical, scientific and creative intelligentsia, workers in education, medicine, administrative apparatus, and members of the Armed Forces. The core of the Party remains the working class. To be a member of the CPSU requires the highest standard of communist thinking, discipline, ethics and work. Those who cannot measure up to these exacting standards are either expelled or not accepted as members. Since the 25th Party Congress (1976) 300,000 people have been expelled from the Party for "deeds incompatible with the calling of communists", and 91,000 probationers were not admitted as members. This is as it should be. Those who fail to live up to the calling of a communist have no place in the Party.

The inner life of the Party is governed by Leninist norms. That is, democratic centralism and the participation of every Party member in decision-making and the implementation of decisions. Before the 26th Congress took place election meetings of primary and shop Party organisations and Party groups were held. These meetings, conferences and congresses which assessed the work of elected Party organs, criticised mistakes and shortcomings and made valuable suggestions are, as the

report says, "the Party's collective mind. This is the Party's single will, an expression of the Communists' unity around the Central Committee." The CPSU as the leading force in Soviet life has an awesome responsibility, and we can say with confidence that its leading organs, the Central Committee and the Political Bureau, have performed their tasks magnificently. We should here also pay special tribute to comrade Brezhnev, who, as General Secretary of the leading and most powerful Communist Party in the world, has made an outstanding contribution to the fight for peace, freedom, socialism and communism.

Lies and Distortions

The columns of the bourgeois press and the other forms of mass media heaped lie upon lie about the Congress and its deliberations. To take three examples.

1. They alleged that the CPSU delegates were no more than rubber stamps who endorsed decisions taken by the leadership. They deliberately ignored the fact that more than 121 million people took part in the discussions on the Draft Guidelines. Numerous suggestions and amendments were proposed which were later incorporated. Those taking part in the discussions represented the entire spectrum of Soviet society. The plan of the Party is truly the plan of the people.
2. They alleged that the delegates who spoke on the two main reports only heaped praise upon comrade Brezhnev and themselves. Regretfully, even one or two correspondents of the fraternal party press were guilty of this misrepresentation. Nothing can be further from the truth. The delegates, who represented a cross section of Soviet life, naturally took pride in their Republic, region or enterprise's achievements and the contribution of Brezhnev to national and international developments. But they also self-critically spoke about their mistakes and shortcomings. As honest Communists they undertook to rectify these and to work even harder to fulfil the new plans and the behest of the Party.
3. They alleged that *Pravda,* the daily newspaper of the CPSU, censored the speeches of a few guests which were critical of one or more aspects of the Soviet foreign and home policies. Again, this was another Goebbels-type lie, since the speeches of the foreign delegates were printed in *Pravda* without any comment or interference.

Whatever the bourgeois media may say, we know from our personal experience that the 26th Congress of the CPSU was an illuminating

manifestation of the enthusiasm, heroism and dedication of men and women who are deeply committed to the struggle for peace, freedom and socialism on a world scale. This Congress was a convincing manifestation of the magnificient achievements of the Soviet people, their profound proletarian internationalist positions under the leadership and guidance of the Party of Lenin. Every day of the Congress we witnessed the cohesiveness and indestructible unity of the CPSU and the Soviet people. Our class enemies are forever predicting the demise and collapse of the Soviet Union and the CPSU. A fitting rebuff to these views was given by comrade Brezhnev in his speech to the closing session of the Congress. He said:

> "How many times... have we heard the predictions of our inevitable failure? How many times have attempts been made to force us to give up our goals? How many times have our opponents tried to prevail on us that we were mistaken, that our path was wrong... But what has come of it? Most of the people who did so are long since forgotten, while socialism is alive and is developing. It is advancing steadily. And it is not that we simply believe. We know beyond a doubt. Our supreme goal, too, will be reached. Communist society will be built!
>
> "We are sure of this because we have faith in the sacred truth of our ideals. We are sure of this because we are aware of the inexhaustible powers of our people. We are sure of this because we know that our Party's Marxist-Leninist course is correct. So let us go boldy forward along the road leading to Communism!"

We emphasise that the profound ideas which permeated the work of the Congress are a source of inspiration for those who are already building socialism, for those who have recently embarked on the path of socialist development and for all those who genuinely seek to end the destructive and inhuman system of capitalism and the exploitation of man by man. It was for both of us a deep personal and political experience.

Long live peace!
Long live the Party of Lenin — CPSU!
Long live the World Communist Movement!
Long live proletarian internationalism!
Glory to the builders of Communism!

OTHER CONGRESSES

Since the 26th Congress, our delegation also attended the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the 10th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. At all three Congresses we felt the great liberating force of socialism. The reports of the respective Central Committees delivered by comrades Zhivkov, Husak and Honecker were models of Marxist-Leninist thinking on the most pressing issues facing humanity today. They also show that whilst the paths and forms of socialist construction vary, depending on concrete historical and political features, the basic laws governing the building of new societies are the same. This includes the socialisation of the means of production, the indispensable and leading role of the Party of the working class and unswerving loyalty to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism.

In all these countries the ruling parties reported with pride that over the past 5 years their people have experienced a consistent and steady improvement of their living, working and spiritual conditions. Moreover they could map out with confidence the new 5-year plan and future tasks.

As comrade Honecker said:

> "Armed with the benefits of new experiences and new insights we shall continue with the successful building of advanced socialist society, thus creating the vital conditions for the gradual transition to communism. In pursuing this aim the main task is to raise further the material and cultural standard of living of the people on the basis of a high rate of development of socialist production, enhanced efficiency, scientific and technological progress and the growth of labour productivity."

At all three Congresses the peace proposals and initiatives outlined by comrade Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress were enthusiastically and unanimously endorsed. The central role of the indestructible alliance with the Soviet Union and the CPSU was emphasised. The experience of these countries shows clearly that it is not possible to build socialism without the closest fraternal revolutionary alliance with the Soviet Union. The vital importance of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation to the defence and further strengthening of the socialist community is also evident from the documents and deliberations of these Congresses. In this respect the socialist countries are united in their efforts to defeat the plans of imperialism, local counter-revolutionary and anti-socialist forces to destabilise Poland. Poland was, is and remains an organic part of the socialist community.

In examining the role of the working class and its Party in the construction of socialism, special attention was paid to ideological questions and the raising of the political maturity and consciousness of the people. As comrade Husak said:

> "Our Party is aware of the importance of ideological work for strengthening its bonds with the masses, for enlisting the working people for its policy. An enormous creative force is embodied in the people's consciousness which is capable of mobilising society for resolving even the most complex tasks. Life once again proves the validity of Lenin's words that the strength of the socialist state lies in the consciousness of the masses."

In the documents and discussions of the main reports, the weaknesses, mistakes and shortcomings in the work of the Parties were critically and self-critically appraised. As comrade Zhivkov pointed out:

> "The Party's Central Committee and the other Party leaderships have taken measures for overcoming weaknesses, for the timely solution of unsolved questions. We set great store by the candid talk about shortcomings and errors which have been allowed, not only because it helps to reveal more fully the causes of their occurrence, but also because it mobilises the entire Party, all working people in the drive to overcome them."

As was stressed at all three Congresses, the weaknesses and shortcomings can never obscure the tremendous achievements of the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. Their victories and successes are our victories and successes.

A notable feature of these Congresses was their loyalty to the theory and practice of proletarian internationalism. Our struggle against racism and apartheid and that of other people fighting for national independence, freedom and socialism was fully supported. This was most eloquently expressed in the Solidarity Appeal adopted by the 10th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. This appeal expressed the GDR's "firm and fraternal solidarity with all communists, with all revolutionaries and patriots who are being tormented in the jails and concentration camps of inhuman regimes." It also called for the release of Antonio Maidana, General Secretary of the Paraguayan Communist Party, Mohammed Farhad, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Bangladesh, General Liber Siregni, President of the Frente Amplio of Uruguay, and "Nelson Mandela, that outstanding fighter for freedom of the oppressed people of South Africa!"

Like the 26th Congress of the CPSU, the other three Congresses were of profound significance, not only for the socialist community, but for all those fighting for peace, freedom, national independence and socialism.

WHY I JOINED THE COMMUNIST PARTY

by Bridge Mohan

I was accepted as a member of the Communist Party some eighteen years ago. By then I had already been active in an underground unit of the liberation movement for almost two years. Those were years of great expectations which went with a general upsurge in resistance and confrontation against white supremacy rule.

It was also a time of transition from the old, tried and tested methods of fighting apartheid to radically new forms and methods. And this brought with it uncertainties and a certain amount of political disorganisation. The ANC had been banned shortly after Sharpeville, as was later the Congress of Democrats. The other organisations within the Congress Alliance, though not banned, were rendered almost ineffective through the bannings, banishment, arrests and detentions of cadres and leaders. The key question facing the people and leadership among the oppressed and exploited was how, and through what forms, was the liberation struggle of the fifties to be sustained and developed?

The answer to these questions was announced in a most dramatic fashion, and imparted a mood of greater militancy and confidence in the

future of our struggle both among the people and the political cadres of the movement not directly connected with it, when on the night of December 16, 1961, South Africa was shaken by a number of explosions in the major cities of the country. The organisation claiming responsibility for these acts of sabotage called itself Umkhonto we Sizwe — the Spear of the Nation. A Manifesto issued by Umkhonto and widely distributed by the underground made it clear that the acts of sabotage were politically inspired and represented a new level of confrontation between the oppressor and the oppressed. At the same time the Manifesto proclaimed that members of Umkhonto were people from all the national groups in the country comprising various social forces and that the members "jointly and individually, place themselves under the overall political guidance of that movement". That movement came to be subsequently identified as the ANC and the liberation alliance it led. The struggle Lenin once wrote, is the greatest educator of the people.

> "Only the struggle educates the exploited class. Only the struggle discloses to it the magnitude of its power, widens its horizon, enhances its abilities, clarifies its mind, forges its will".

For me, as with the group of Indian activists organised into an underground cell by the movement, as well as active in the day-to-day struggles and efforts of the Indian community into which we had been forcibly moved by the regime's Group Areas policy, it was a combination of these forms of struggle together with political leadership which taught us politics and made us understand what the struggle entailed. I was born and raised in a predominantly African township. Africans, Coloureds and Indians, however, lived cheek by jowl, more often than not sharing the same backyard. Although our separate identities were maintained, we were in the main all working people.

My father was a bus driver whose main aim in life was to see his children educated. And towards this end my parents, in common with millions of black parents, sacrificed a great deal. I knew very well what hardship, poverty and want was. I never really understood what the source and instrument of our powerlessness was until I was organised by the liberation movement many years later.

Indeed, my first organised introduction to class politics and ideas occurred even later — at a time when I was already active within the underground struggle. Of course, as with the youth of today, we discussed Marxism and socialism endlessly. We received a steady stream of lectures

from time to time from older cadres of the movement. We studied and discussed the history of the liberation struggle. Much of the time, however, we did so as best we could on our own. It was a time of heightened political activities and *doing* took precedence over *theory*.

My introduction to the study of Marxism, at least its basics, was preceded by my being asked by a member of our unit whether I would like to become a member of the Communist Party. The comrade who approached me happened to be my closest friend, someone I had known during my high school days and who lived in the same Indian township as I did. My first Marxist study class coincided with one of the most dramatic moments in the turn to armed struggle in those early years of the sixties.

On the very night of our first lecture, Radio Freedom, the voice of the underground liberation movement, came on the air for the first time. For the small group of Indian and Coloured comrades gathered in a little room in Johannesburg, Walter Sisulu's powerful call to action, and the fact that the leadership could communicate with the people through so powerful a medium, convinced us that the revolution had finally arrived. It was up to us to see it through to the end with the millions of our people.

Shortly thereafter I was informed that the Party had accepted the recommendation that I be drawn into its ranks.

The great poet, playwright and champion of the cause of the working class, Bertolt Brecht, once wrote:

Make sure when leaving the world
Not just that you were good, but leave
A good world.

In these few lines Brecht captures the essential vision and historic mission of working class revolutionaries. Our Party continues to make its singular contribution to the struggle for national and social emancipation which will constitute the foundations for the "good world" in the years to come.

FRONTLINE STATES TRY TO BREAK THE SHACKLES

by Phineas Malinga

Few questions are more important for the future of the independent nations of Southern Africa than the question of their economic relationship with the Republic of South Africa. This question confronts the peoples concerned at every turn. It vitally affects their domestic plans for economic progress and liquidation of the inheritance of colonialism. It stands in the way of their aspirations for an independent foreign policy. It greatly complicates the question of sanctions against South Africa. It tragically increases the cost to these peoples of the contribution which they are determined to make to the liberation struggle in South Africa.

The fact from which the problem starts is the simple disparity between the size of the South African economy and those of the neighbouring states. This may be illustrated by the following figures for the year 1977 (*Financial Mail,* April 25, 1980).

It will be seen that South Africa has just under half the population of the region, but just over three-quarters of the gross product and approximately three-quarters of the total trade.

	Population ('000)	Gross national product (Rm)	Per capita income (R)	Imports (Rm)	Exports (Rm)
South Africa	26,807	31,321	1,165	5,124	5,355
Zimbabwe	6,758	2,921	435	416	500
Zambia	5,210	2,026	391	356	477
Mozambique	9,410	1,704	183	23	105
Angola	5,952	1,713	287	340	665
Swaziland	527	270	504	169	163
Botswana	692	261	383	240	157
Lesotho	1,271	261	200	170	15

The problem does not, however, end with this disparity in size. The pattern of communications in Southern Africa is such that all the countries listed above except Angola have difficulty in trading either with one another or with countries outside the region without making use of routes controlled by South Africa. The country with the most serious communication problem is, of course, Lesotho, which is entirely surrounded by South African territory. The result is that Lesotho buys ninety per cent of everything it needs from South Africa. The communication problems of Botswana and Swaziland are almost as severe, while those of Zimbabwe and Zambia are very serious. The Tanzam railway, conceived twenty years ago as an answer to Zambia's dependence on routes to South African ports, has only partly achieved its objective. Angola and Mozambique have their own outlets to the sea, but no easy way to communicate with each other. Sabotage by Savimbi's mercenaries continues sporadically to threaten the operation of the Benguela railway, on which Zambia's communications with Angola largely depend. When Namibia becomes independent, its people will face the same sort of situation. There are no railways and scarcely any roads across the long frontiers between Namibia, Angola and Botswana. Virtually all Namibia's communications are directed towards South Africa.

The third major factor in the situation is food. If South Africa's neighbours were self-sufficient in food and relied on foreign trade only for industrial products, it would be much easier for them to pick and choose their trading partners. In fact, all except Zimbabwe have food deficits. One of South Africa's most important trump cards is the large surplus of maize and meat produced by South African farmers, by which the whole region is to some extent fed.

Political Activity

During the last two years, this economic relationship has become the focus of intense political activity, both by the South African government and by independent states. On the South African side, the objective is to capitalise on the country's economic pre-eminence and impose a permanent satellite status upon the neighbouring states. This objective is expressed in P.W. Botha's slogan of "a constellation of Southern Arican states". In July 1980, Botha appointed the regime's number one economic expert, Dr Gerhard de Kock, as chairman of a "special constellation committee". The matters to be considered by this committee were said to include monetary arrangements such as those involved in the rand monetary area agreement, the establishment of a multilateral development bank for southern Africa, the fiscal and financial relations between the Government of South Africa and the various categories of other states, regional development, industrial decentralisation, customs union matters, agricultural development and food production (Johannesburg *Sunday Times,* July 27, 1980). In judging statements of this kind one must, of course, bear in mind that the "outer states" referred to include the pseudo-states of the Transkei, etc. and the arrangements under discussion are therefore, in part, merely domestic arrangements of the apartheid regime. There is, however, no doubt that the "constellation" is intended to bring under varying degrees of economic tutelage a substantial number of independent states.

These initiatives of the Botha regime have been accompanied by a barrage of propaganda designed to show that South Africa's economic position is going from strength to strength and that other African states have a desperate need to trade with South Africa which inevitably overrides political trends in favour of sanctions. Typical of this propaganda was a "news analysis" occupying most of page 19 of the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* on March 15, 1981. This article boasted that South Africa's trade with other African countries had passed the R1,000 million mark in 1980 and was "all set for a mighty leap forward" in 1980. Egypt was said to be ready to become a major trading partner of South Africa. African countries trading with South Africa were said to number forty seven, including Nigeria, Tanzania, Ghana, Congo, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Central African Republic, Senegal, Morocco, Chad, Guinea, Togo, Ethiopia and Sierra Leone. Under a headline reading "Zaire — the Black Bonanza", the newspaper waxed lyrical about the opportunities for South African businessmen in Zaire.

All this no doubt contains exaggerations, if not downright falsehoods.

The *Sunday Times* is, however, certainly right in listing South Africa's biggest trading partners on the African continent as follows: Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mozambique, Zaire, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Of these seven states, Zaire trades with South Africa to some extent as a matter of choice. The other six do so as a matter of necessity.

The African Reply

These states are far from being unaware that their situation is an undesirable one. Over the course of the last two years there have been a series of initiatives designed to forge a system of regional cooperation without South Africa and thus to begin to break the South African stranglehold on the region's economy. The effort began even before the independence of Zimbabwe, with a conference held at Arusha in July, 1979. The countries represented were Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia. The principal matters discussed were the modification of the region's transport and communications network, the development of trade between the nations represented, and the eventual rationalisation of industrial development in the region, so as to reap the benefits of large-scale production.

It was always the intention to draw in the other states mainly affected. This was achieved in the following year, which saw the two Southern African Development Coordination Conferences. The first was held in Lusaka in April 1980. In addition to the five states mentioned above, Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland and Zimbabwe were now represented. In opening this conference, President Kaunda made it clear that, although the South African problem was not the only motive for cooperation between the states represented, there was also a definite intention to thwart the Botha "constellation" scheme and to reduce the economic dependence of the region upon South Africa. The adherence to this objective of Malawi and Swaziland, which had in the past exhibited great caution in their attitude towards South Africa, was a notable political development.

The conference agreed to set up permanent machinery for economic cooperation between the participating states and adopted a programme of action. Among the items in the programme are the establishment of a regional Development Bank and of a Transport and Communications Commission. The latter has since begun work, with its headquarters in Maputo.

The second SADCC conference took place in Maputo in November 1980. On this occasion, approximately thirty non-African governments and eighteen international development agencies were present. A substantial sum of money, said to total 650 million US dollars over the next five years, was promised by these governments and agencies to finance the programme of action. (*Financial Mail,* December 5, 1980). In addition to the features already mentioned, the programme includes a "food security project" led by Zimbabwe Minister Bernard Chidzero, a manpower development and training project to be organised by Swaziland and a plan for development of energy resources.

These events hold out some hope for the future. There is no doubt that the independent states have correctly identified the main causes of their economic weakness. The way in which nine states with differing political approaches have been able to agree on a programme is impressive. Their decisions appear realistic and can hardly fail to bring about some improvement in the situation.

The task, however, is immense and even the most optimistic commentators foresee success being achieved only over a substantial number of years. Some fundamental issues on which success will depend have yet to be squarely tackled. Solution of the food problem implies solution of the agrarian problem. What are to be the socio-economic and political structures which will enable free Africa to build an agricultural sector more productive than the apartheid system of serf labour? The development of industry, communications and energy sources at the kind of speed which is necessary is something which has not often been achieved. Can it be achieved on a basis of amiable eclecticism — borrowing ideas and money from anybody who is willing to lend them.? A firmer commitment by all nine states to the non-capitalist path and a greater readiness to rely on the strength of the socialist world would give grounds for greater optimism.

There is a more basic question which needs to be asked. Which is likely to succeed first — the efforts of the nine states to separate their economies from that of South Africa, or the South African revolution? Prophecy is a dangerous game, but there are certainly substantial grounds for thinking that the overthrow of apartheid now requires less time than the complete division of the Southern African economy into two watertight compartments. And, of course once apartheid has been overthrown, such a division will become not only an unnecessary but an absurd objective. After South African liberation, a regional "constellation" including South

Africa will be the natural way forward.

This does not mean that the efforts now being made by the nine will be wasted. Their development and the elimination of the economic disparities between their situation and South Africa's remain valid objectives. What it does mean, however, is that South African liberation is the key to the healthy economic development of the whole Southern African region. The separate development of the nine must not be regarded as a substitute for liberation, leading to the integrated development on socialist lines of the region as a whole.

The National Characteristics of the Afrikaner

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF APARTHEID

by A Bakaya

The Afrikaner ruling class, in their capitalist aspirations, have carried the Afrikaans-speaking people on a path of chauvinistic hatred of blacks and all "outsiders". They have achieved this by propagating fear of annihilation and romanticising themselves as a nation under siege. However, by such self proclamation they do not become a nation in the accepted Marxist definition. In social psychological terms, "nations are not communities ringed about by walls, but are associations of people existing in harmonious concord".[1]

The American, Jim Hoagland,[2] a recent BBC series of television programmes,[3] and the London *Economist*[4] all consider the Afrikaners as the *white tribe* of Africa. Afrikaners are bound by "tribal glue" according to this formulation. In the economic status of production relations in our country, they clearly are no *tribe,* as indeed there are no tribes in the traditional sense in present day South Africa.

Apartheid ideologists use the terms *ethnic* group and *racial* group interchangeably to separate our people on the basis of physical characteristics such as colour, hair texture, physical stature and so on.

They use these concepts that social anthropologists employ as a means of categorising people on a global scale. In our country these categories transcend geographic conglomerations and exist within one national boundary. Apartheid propaganda racistly employs these natural characteristics to divide our country into "homelands", "group areas", and "white South Africa" for purposes of economic and social exploitation of our people.

Yet there are large sections of our people who do share customs and traditions and these, in some instances but not always, overlap with physical characteristics. Yuri Bromlei in *Races and People*[5] discusses these various concepts. While recognising that human beings evolve and change in their culture, certain distinctive shared qualities of people persevere as cultural idiosyncracies (unique qualities). Culture, in the widest sense, is a part of people. Since terms like culture and tradition, including language, of people have become contaminated by bourgeois-induced chauvinism — hatred of other people — Bromlei discusses the value of using the new concept, *ethnos,* to embrace those distinctive features that are special components of human life naturally shared by broad associations of people. Ethnoses contribute their multi-faceted character to world culture.

This article attempts to look at the Afrikaners as an ethnos and raises some of the problems of racism within the ethnos, Afrikaner.

Psychology of Apartheid

The London *Economist*[6] in a lengthy article interspersed with advertisements from the South African regime itself and other monopoly capitalist South African institutions, introduces the concept of "neo-apartheid". Wholly incorporated into the neo-apartheid formulation is the "white tribe" of Africa concept. Neo-apartheid, or the regime's reformist programme, is of interest insofar as it shows that some sections of the Afrikaner bourgeoisie and its intelligentsia are capable of making cosmetic changes in their social relationships with upper sections of the black middle economic stratum.

In his book, *The Psychology of Apartheid,*[7] Peter Lambley starts out with the objective of analysing the psychology of racism in South Africa. However, the author soon drifts into a not too flattering analysis of the Afrikaners. He, like the BBC presentation (op. cit.) deals with the mechanism of Broederbond control of the Afrikaners' ideological development and hence the relationship between Afrikaners and the cruelty and inhumanity of the racism of apartheid.

The entire world is agreed on apartheid being a crime against humanity.[8] The essence of apartheid is the brutal subjugation of the majority black population's legitimate aspiration for political, economic and social emancipation by the white minority who exclusively control political power in our country.

White aggressiveness is the joint political power of English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking whites who directly participate in and perpetuate the colonialist-like subjugation of the black people in our country. The South African state structure contains racism as a central component and the humanly impoverishing consequences of racism are used by the oppressors to serve as justification for the fierce and inhuman exploitation of the black majority. The indigenous African people suffer the worst effects of the racist exploitative apartheid ideology.

The Boers have had nascent bourgeois aspirations which have been a main thread in the colonisation process. Vitukhin[9] points out that difference between Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking South Africans is a secondary contradiction within their tacitly agreed domination of the majority African population. The Afrikaners, since taking power in 1948, have largely eliminated the material gap in their inferiority from being the bulk of the "poor whites" into being a full proportion of the white-collar section of the white population. They have also built up a major stake in the capitalist economy and provided for themselves a major role in the educational and technological field.

The Programme of the SACP[10] and the *Strategy and Tactics*[11] of the ANC and its allies focus on the interaction of South African capitalism that includes the involvement of international imperialism which is the parent of the racism as a component in the oppression of the black majority of our people. Our national liberation movement therefore also clearly recognises the anti-imperialist content of our struggle which has as its objective the total destruction of the exploitative and racist white dominant South African political structure.

Central to this strategy for freedom is our grasp of the fact that our struggle is not simply a racial antagonism between black and white people. Thus the liberating and non-racist principles of our Freedom Charter are epitomised in the preamble that states:

> "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people; that our people have been robbed of their birthright to *land,* liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality."[12]

This includes the Afrikaner people and our struggle demands that we guard against being side-tracked into scapegoating the Afrikaners for the evil and ills of our national subjugation in the exploitative and racist white dominated political system.

Apartheid is epitomised in the slogan of "no equality in church or state". It denies the humanness of all people. The *verligte* element in the white dominated politico-economic structure merely explores the possibility of white-black partnership to maintain the gross exploitation that results in the inequality of the mass of black people in the sphere of wages, education, health, culture and other social services.

An Afrikaner National Character?

To return to Lambley's thesis on the psychology of apartheid. In the first instance, Lambley has incorrectly equated apartheid with Afrikaners. Like western researchers in the post-war years who tried to identify a fascist personality to explain the inhumanity of Nazism, Lambley's thesis would assert that Afrikaners are apartheid-prone. Patently, the socio-political system of racism and exploitation in South Africa is not purely an Afrikaans phenomenon, though blacks are more likely to experience manifest racist insults and brutality at the hands of the Afrikaners because of the nature of our socio-political set-up. Surveys show white South Africans to be highly prejudiced against black South Africans — a fact all black South Africans know from experience.

Afrikaners produce a higher average score on the f. scale (an American designed questionnaire constructed to measure a fascism personality trait) than do English-speaking whites. All whites, however, are highly prejudiced against blacks and there is no special statistical relationship between f. scale scores and racial prejudice scores. Racism cannot therefore be explained as arising out of an apartheid or fascist prone personality trait. In his clinical analysis of the 300-year history of the Afrikaners' roots, the author is preoccupied with the Afrikaners' anti-British prejudices. He states:

> "The historical evidence indicates that the Afrikaners' feared out-group was not the black but rather the white English-speaking South Africans who had been the phobic enemy for most of the nineteenth century."[13]

Lambley concludes that the Afrikaners are authoritarian, phobic of English-speaking South Africans, highly prejudiced towards black South Africans; they are immature psychopaths in a sociopathic culture. Would

they have naturally created apartheid because of their personality structure?

> "The essential features of the authoritarian personality clusters are rigidity, conformity, conventionality, a belief in power and toughness, in the ends justifying the means — especially in dealing with out-groups — in the use of force and aggression, in myth and superstitious ritual insofar as these referred to their own group's concepts of leadership and power. The cluster also contains the tendency to use stereotypes, rigid in-group out-group discrimination and projection of human failings on to others while remaining uncritical of one's own actions."[14]

Phobia is an irrational fear of some object which is not objectively threatening and whose presence or anticipated presence induces gross anxiety with heightened physiological reactions and panic. Prejudice is also irrational and encompasses stereotyping other people according to their presumed worse characteristics which are also perceived as a threat to the physical and social integrity of the prejudiced person.

Psychopaths have as a central characteristic egotism. Norms of social conduct are absent and hence their behaviour lacks normal social morality. Moral standards are socially induced in the interaction between persons and develop in man's normal socialisation process. Amoral persons are regarded as having a personality defect and are developmentally immature because they fail to learn basic rules of caring human conduct.

The above definitions are brief descriptions of salient facets of mental illness recognised in psychiatry, the medical branch of psychology. This terminology is therefore in itself suspect when referring to a whole population's national character.

Lambley's clinical method leads him to trace the history and background of the "illness" called apartheid. According to him Afrikaners stem from a self-selected sample of Dutch people from Holland, and these were incapable people and failures in their own country. As nomads and thereafter farmers scattered on remote tracts of land, they were insular, orientated towards survival and material success, with very little cultural foundation. The family head, as organiser for the survival of the family, ruled the family autocratically. Calvinism as their religion was also in the same mould in that God required unquestioning faith. These social factors contribute to personality immaturity which accepts the hierarchical fusion of father, God and leader and encourages autocratic power and consequently negates personality growth and personal identity. Lambley's suggestion is that the above social values include an inherited

predisposition to social incapacity and hence explain the apartheid-prone and sociopathic qualities.

The description proceeds with reference to the uncultured frontiersman feeling threatened by the more cultured English-speaking colonists. This phobia combined with the mythical leader predisposition is the foundation for the Broederbond's success which demands unswerving loyalty to the leader of the volk as part of Christian Nationalism, the fascist ideology which propagates the Herrenvolk (God's chosen people) ideology.

The psychopathic behaviour that these people display includes debauchery, the inferior status of women, corruption, violence by the police and the security forces in their cruel torture methods of political prisoners. Psychopaths measure success in pure material terms without regard to social norms.

Examples of immoral behaviour amongst themselves are revealed in the Muldergate scandal, the political violence and intrigue around the assassination of Verwoerd and alleged cover-up activities surrounding his assassin. Anecdotal evidence to support the authoritarian-psychopath model is marshalled against Van den Bergh (head of the former BOSS), Malan, Verwoerd, Vorster, Mulder, Rhoodie and also Andries Treurnicht amongst others.

This picture of the immutable Afrikaner psychopath is indeed a gruesome one.

Methodological Issues

Reference has already been made to the highly questionable proposition that the clinical method in exploring psychopathology can be used to analyse a whole national group. This fundamental error stems from his clinical analytical approach which explores for an individual patient the possible antecedents that have contributed to the form of his or her illness. He is confusing the economic content of apartheid with its racist form. More scientifically he could have used other western approaches to study the social psychology of political behaviour.[15] Social psychology has the theory of group membership and its influence and effect on individuals. This methodological approach is interspersed with questionnaire data and other clinical assessment procedures on student and student nurses which do not even appear to meet the basic requirements of random sampling. Interwoven into this faulty and technically weak methodology Lambley uses anecdotal evidence obtained from private patients. This type of information is unconventional, and though he explains that deception is

"United we will smash the Boer aggressor"

Struggling in the grip of the Mozambican and South African people, the Boer invader squeals: "Leave me alone, you kaffirs. Don't touch me".

necessary because of the apartheid system's scientific restrictiveness, he does not allow for the obviously questionable reliability of his data.

His description does manage to communicate the repressiveness and brutality of apartheid as well as the bigotry and immoral behaviour of apartheid's most ardent protagonists. But the anxiety-reducing function for the Afrikaners' anti-English "phobia" and their anti-black racism is scientifically untenable. His faulty foundation leads to faulty conclusions. For instance, in spite of the overwhelming information of the rejection of apartheid by all sectors of the black community, he astonishingly asserts that the majority of black South Africans actually need apartheid as a sanity ensuring mechanism to protect themselves from the chaotic ravages of clinical anxiety.

Marxist Approach

Marxist sociological and social-psychology methodology does not exclude the scientific investigation of national characteristics. In fact Marxism posits the fact that internationalism does not mean national nihilism and the republics that make up the USSR constitute material testimony to this principle. From his bourgeois theoretical framework Lambley ends up expressing his own chauvinistic attitude towards Afrikaners. The racist and immoral facets of apartheid life under Afrikaner domination may more accurately be explained in terms of the Marxist-Leninist axiom: "No nation that oppresses another can itself be free." The anti-human values of racists erode the human potential and open the way to immorality in all aspects of life. The chauvinistic hatred of apartheid affects personality, and cultural restrictiveness closes the doors of learning and culture on a world scale to the Afrikaners as well.

An Afrikaner Ethnos?

How do we characterise the white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans in the context of the Freedom Charter clause: "All national groups shall have equal rights?"[16] This clause covers the issue of equal status for all national groups and specifically guarantees language usage, the development of national culture and customs as well as protection against insult to national pride. Racial contempt and colour discrimination would be punishable crimes.

Stalin[17] defines a nation as:

> "an historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture. . . None of the above characteristics is in itself sufficient to define a nation. On the other hand, it is sufficient for a single one of these characteristics to be absent and the nation ceases to be a nation."

The Afrikaners are an historically evolved group of people who emerged out of a settler population who, in their greed for land ownership, banded together for this objective. The occupation of territory and the annexation into private ownership of the territorial lands of the African people do not encompass the spirit of territoriality associated with national consciousness. Likhachev[18] in the article *Notes on the Essence of Rusianness* illustrates the concept of national traits as being identifying qualities of a people that have emerged from an ancestral interaction of people with their environment. From this dynamic relationship of man and nature, complex and subtle features emerge which are reflected in and influence their folklore, art, literature, language, architecture, morality and all those peculiarities that identify our interest in other people within the shared qualities of all peoples' humanness.

The Afrikaners struggled for their language as a communication system against the dominance of British imperialism and the English language. They have language, mythology, literature and art which are part of their psychological make-up. There is an Afrikaner personal value system which is counter-balanced by their chauvinism that they project as patriotism. Some of their chauvinism is, for example, reflected linguistically in their racist concepts such as Kaffir, Koelie and Hotnot (South African English has anglicised versions) and meid, jong, outa, aia, which are concepts used for black South Africans designating the age and sex of the black person. This language, while having other qualities, also contains racist aspects that have emerged from the exercise of apartheid oppression.

V. Avronin[19] discusses the linguistic situation of a people as part of the social-historical conditions of the life of the people. Its language is also a determinant for its approach to life. The functional aspect of social linguistics is extensive and influences the formation of thought and also the accumulation and transmission of experience.

The Caucasoid ethnic category that the Afrikaners share with the English-speaking and some other groups of people living in South Africa is not in itself a cultural or psychological phenomenon. The racist ideology of apartheid elevates physical features such as skin colour to the status of a national trait.

The Caucasoid Afrikaners, as well as Negroid and Mongoloid peoples, have been and are part of the economic state entity of South Africa. They have imbued themselves with negative nationalist-chauvinist qualities which are now part of their psychology.

Changing Social Psychological Traits

A liberated South Africa will have as one of its tasks the cultural and psychological liberation of this oppressor oriented sector of the South African nation. Their socio-cultural-psychological rehabilitation as people is, however, dependent in the first instance on the overthrow of the exploitative racist apartheid system — the primary goal of the national liberation movement led by the ANC and its allies. The destruction of apartheid is a prerequisite for a free South African nation and will have a bearing on aspects of personal, social psychological development. (See Andreyeva.[20])

The white racists maintain apartheid to be an ideology of difference in race i.e. on the physical characteristics of colour which they assert debars assimilation and they include this attitude through the Calvinist doctrine of the predetermination of the master-servant relations of "*baasskap*", the master race ideology. The *verligtes* propose some minor changes in black-white contact as part of their strategy to retain power under the challenge of the national liberation struggle of the black majority.

These changes are occurring within the context of the united political strength of the black population and progressive whites backed by the thrust of Umkhonto we Sizwe against the military-political power of the system. Within this context there is clear evidence of psychological change, both at the attitudinal (consciousness) and behavioural levels of the black people. Blacks have always rejected their predestination to servitude, but these changes in black consciousness are making an impact on the different white ethnoses. Deep-seated national psychological traits of the ethnoses must be monitored for change in the direction of national liberation forces. Ever wider sections of the entire South African nation must be drawn into the process to overthrow apartheid and in so doing to liberate *all* our people from the stultifying effect of racism and chauvinism.

The ANC, since its inception in 1912, has been the champion and guardian of the rights of African people to their national consciousness and against the ravages of exploitation. In the course of the liberation struggle from apartheid exploitation and oppression, the ANC is also laying the foundation for a true single South African nation with

recognition of the rights of the various ethnic groups and ethnoses to fulfilment of their national characteristics. In this process it is vital that in our strategy we do not lose sight of these secondary phenomena as we pursue our primary task of the destruction of white supremacy and white domination.

Likhachev, a Soviet man who has participated in the development of the USSR, that great community of internationalists, states:

> "Nationalism (i.e. bourgeois nationalism/chauvinism) engenders lack of confidence in oneself, weakness and is itself, in turn, engendered by these very qualities . . . it hides itself, it lives in darkness and only pretends to be engendered by a love of one's own country. It is in fact born of spite, of hatred for other nations and for that part of one's own nation which does not hold nationalist views." (p 162)[21]

On the other hand true patriotism, which includes recognition of national character and national individuality, engenders a clear awareness of the worth of one's own culture. Our national liberation struggle needs to bring to the awareness of individual Afrikaners (and other whites) that freedom includes the total liberation of the best aspects of their own ethnos, but clearly excludes chauvinism and racism which engender fear and shut out from their own culture the best of the civilisation of our own peoples and world culture.

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AFRICA NOTES AND COMMENT:

by Ahmed Azad

SUDAN: A COUP AND ITS AFTERMATH

A few months ago the Sudanese regime announced that it had once more foiled an attempted coup d'etat. Among those arrested was a retired colonel Saad Bahaar. Saad Bahaar played a major role in the 1969 coup which brought Nimeiry to power and is regarded as a staunch Nasserite. But Nimeiry has always regarded Bahaar as a real threat and in 1972 dismissed him, without any pension rights. He was considered to be too pro-Egypt and arrested for plotting a coup but later released. Once more in 1975 he was accused of hatching another coup but was again released for lack of evidence. He then went into exile in London where he teamed up with Sherif Hissein el Hindi and Sadiq el Mahdi — two well-known opposition figures in the National Democratic Front. The three launched an attempted coup in 1976 in which fighting continued for some days, including in the capital Khartoum. Later, however, Mahdi was induced by all kinds of promises to return to Sudan. Hindi meanwhile is still in exile.

The latest coup attempt demonstrates the instability of the Nimeiry

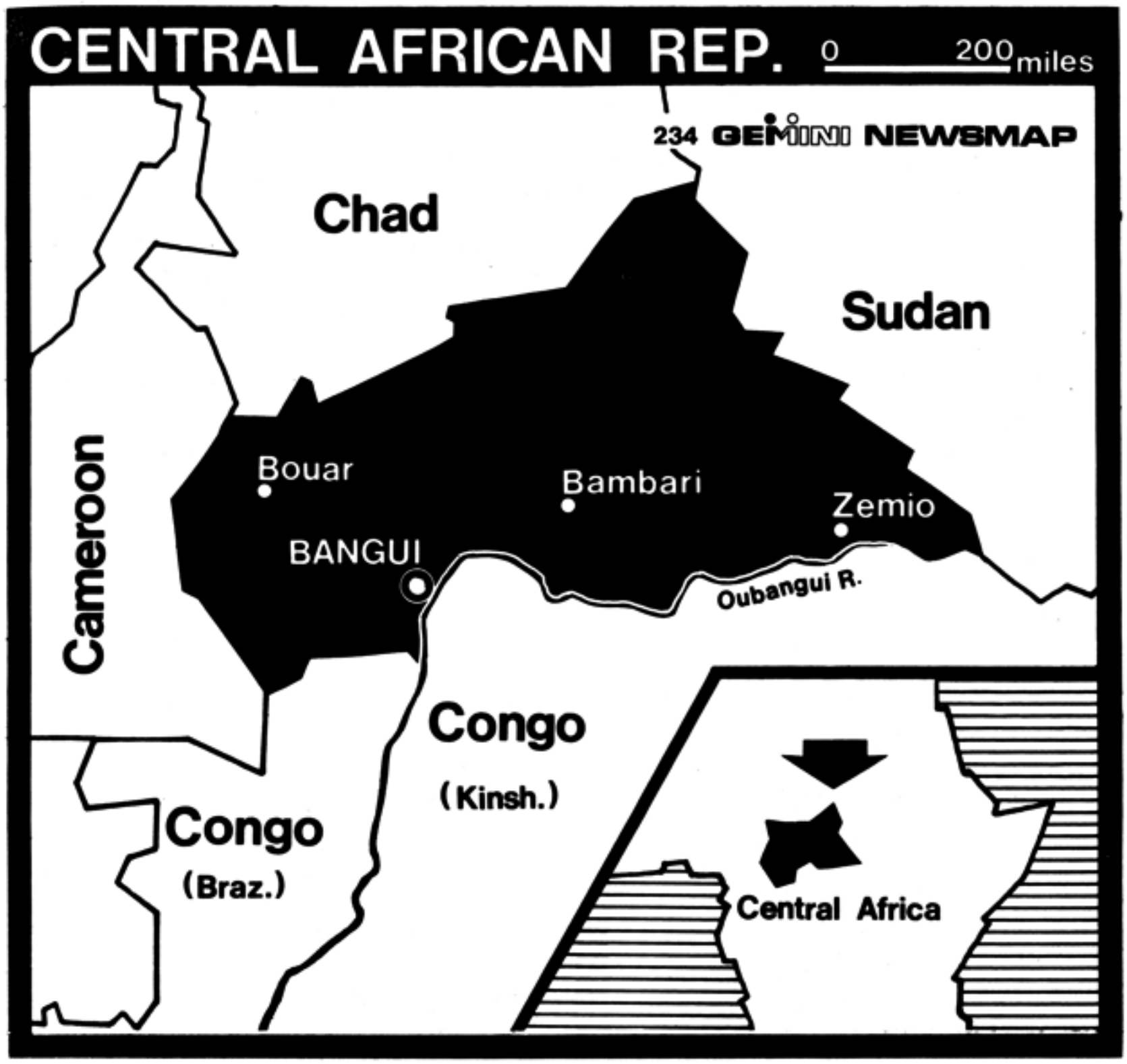
regime. Indeed, Nimeiry is propped up by thousands of Egyptian soldiers and security officers. The Sudanese Communist Party is opposed to coup attempts hatched by individuals without any mass base and to machinations and manoeuvres which are totally inappropriate to the present conditions in Sudan. The SCP is engaged in building up a large militant mass resistance campaign based on the concrete demands arising from the day to day struggles of the working people. These struggles would lay the basis for a general political strike, thus opening the road for a real transfer of power to revolutionary and democratic forces. The SCP is very active in consolidating and strengthening an anti-dictatorial alliance of all the democratic and revolutionary forces of the country. It recognises the role of democratic minded officers who may ally themselves with the popular masses. But it is opposed to individual conspiracies which do not contribute to the development of a broad united front.

There is no doubt that Nimeiry the butcher will use this coup attempt to intensify repressive actions against the SCP and impose further curbs on the democratic movements such as trade unions. In this context the SCP calls upon all progressives to demand the release of Tigani al-Tayib who was arrested in November 1980. Fifty four year old Tigani is a founder member of the SCP and at the present time is a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee and head of the Department of International Relations.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC: "BOGUS ELECTIONS"

In March of this year a "Presidential election" was held in the Central African Republic. This was not an election to test the views and opinions of the people. It was merely a manoeuvre to lend legitimacy to David Dacko who had been installed in power by the French imperialists in September 1979. Let us recall, briefly, that Jean-Bedel Bokassa, that megalomaniac French puppet who had showered gifts on leading French conservative politicians including Giscard d'Estaing, was overthrown by his masters because he had outlived his usefulness.

Dacko, with the help of the French occupying troops, had blatantly rigged the elections. The opposition led by Ange Patasse hotly disputed the declaration and organised demonstrations protesting against the decision. The army fired on the demonstrators wounding several. Immediately the



French troops stationed in that country were reinforced and staged a show of force in support of their chosen candidate. To be sure Dacko and his coterie have no real desire to resolve the problems of extraordinary economic backwardness and acute poverty which plague the Central African Republic. As pliant clients they only faithfully serve their neo-colonialist masters.

Given the events described above and the increased French military presence in Africa, the progressive and revolutionary forces in our continent are raising their voices in an incessant demand for the withdrawal of all French troops from African soil. The imperialists have for too long shed the blood of our people and ensured the plunder by monopoly capital of our natural resources.

UGANDA: CAMPAIGN OF SUBVERSION

Following the victory of the Uganda People's Congress in the general elections held in December 1980, the forces of reaction and their imperialist friends have stepped up their subversive campaign to thwart the will of the people. The reactionaries cannot accept the fact that Milton Obote has rightfully taken his place as President of Uganda. The Uganda Freedom Movement (UFM), led and financed by rich Bagandans, has launched a series of terrorist actions in this subversive campaign. The UFM is not a freedom movement but a reactionary organisation hostile to all progressive changes in the country.

The imperialists, especially the British, have not forgiven Obote for attempting to pursue progressive policies. They also fear that a united, cohesive, stable Uganda could, together with Tanzania, seriously challenge their position in East Africa, especially in Kenya. Let us not forget that US imperialism now has military facilities in Kenya.

At this extremely difficult period in the history of Uganda, the Uganda People's Congress and all Ugandan patriots will need the support of all progressive forces in Africa if they are to succeed in their herculean task of rehabilitating the country and its economic, political and social structures.

§§§

HAS THE TIME COME FOR THE ARMING OF THE MASSES?

by Comrade Mzala

— "The revolutionary violence aimed at toppling the ruling class must necessarily be that of the masses, of the broad masses that are oppressed and exploited." — Le Duan.[1]

— "And Ilyich (Lenin) was continuously calling upon the working class vanguard — the Party — to fight, to organise, and to work for the arming of the masses." — N. Krupskaya.[2]

What are the prospects of the stategy of "Arming the Masses" in the South African revolutionary war of liberation? Has the time come? Looked at from the historical point of view (that the African people were conquered by the White invaders because they were fighting as a divided people and were in possession of inferior weapons) as well as from the viewpoint of the final objective of the liberation movement, that is, the armed seizure of political power by the people from the colonial state of White supremacy, these questions assume tremendous significance. Furthermore, political events of the post-Soweto era in general and the 1980 upsurge in particular

throw light on the practical significance of the strategic principle of "Arming the Masses" and compel us to determine more precisely the tasks of the revolutionary vangard in the present situation in South Africa.

To examine in isolation any single strategy of revolutionary struggle is to risk the possibility of overemphasizing it at the expense of others. Our scientific theory of revolution holds that the social transformation of society can be achieved in different ways and that armed violence is not the only means of such transformation. Karl Marx was expressing this idea in his speech at a meeting in Amsterdam on September 8, 1872, when he said:

> " . . . we never affirmed that it was necessary to achieve this aim (conquest of political power) using everywhere the same methods. On the contrary, in some countries the workers can achieve their aim by peaceful means, and in most of the countries of the continent the lever of our revolution must be force."[3]

Historical experience has also proved that there can never be a single strategy or formula for making a revolution. Let us take, for illustration, the method of guerrilla warfare: while the guerrilla form of struggle has succeeded in a number of liberation struggles — especially in Vietnam, Cuba, Algeria, Angola and Mozambique, etc. — so have several major guerrilla struggles been defeated, for example in Malaya, Philippines, Greece, and Burma. It may be worthwhile to cite with particular emphasis the experience of the Philippine liberation movement which, it should not be forgotten, was totally committed to revolutionary guerrilla warfare virtually to the exclusion of other forms of political struggle. William Pomeroy, an active participant in that armed struggle, writes:

> "Events have sometimes indicated that long years of experience in non-violent activities can make it difficult to break a pattern of work and adopt new and perhaps necessary violent forms of struggle. In such cases, masses in struggle, acting spontaneously if not led, may force a correction of tactics . . . The same principle, however, holds true for those who become overly committed to the ideas of armed struggle, to the point where all other forms of struggle that are possible and into which significant masses of the people can be drawn are neglected, and to the point where revolutionary vanguards may become isolated, with the risk of being destroyed or forced into difficult retreats from which it is hard to recuperate. Imperialist counter-insurgency operations have been designed especially to take advantage of this type of error."[4]

The correct strategy of developing revolution is to be found not in the dogmatic formulae drawn from textbooks but in the concrete historical conditions in every given country. As Lenin said:

> "Marxism demands an absolutely historical examination of the forms of struggle. To treat this question apart from the concrete historical situation betrays a failure to understand the rudiments of dialectical materialism."[5]

In South Africa attention must be drawn to certain concrete characteristics of the revolutionary war of liberation which are shaped by South Africa's own set of historical conditions. Firstly, any talk of legal or constitutional forms of struggle is a non-starter because the African National Congress is banned and the oppressed Black majority is disfranchised. Secondly, it is common knowledge that the national liberation organisations, headed by the African National Congress, have always sought peaceful methods of struggle, but the racist regime has replied to non-violence with violence; to peaceful protests with suppression and police massacres of unarmed men, women and children. Resorting to revolutionary violence is therefore not a matter of preference or a choice among a number of possible alternatives — for us the choice is either to fight or submit. Moreover, in terms of the fundamental task of political mobilisation of the people (the chief content of our work at the present phase), the strategy of struggle along non-violent lines has already exhausted its potential for mobilising the majority of the people — that is, non-violence as a strategy for revolution no longer strikes a responsive chord in the hearts of the black majority. The successful conduct of armed struggle in neighbouring Mozambique, Angola and recently Zimbabwe, has further reinforced our people's conviction that the Pretoria slave owners will not set a precedent and voluntarily open the gates of our captivity without armed struggle by the people (who have remained disarmed since conquest during the wars of resistance).

Lesson of the 1980 Upsurge

It was not so long ago that the only manifestations of the people's anger at racist oppression were peaceful demonstrations of protest — although we followed our traditional custom of carrying sticks and stones when we are demonstrating. The special significance of the 1980 upsurge lies in the fact that, for the first time, retaliatory violence of the people has become a permanent feature of our present protests, as distinct from the occasional occurrences that characterised the 1976 Soweto revolt. These new outbreaks of revolt by workers and students have been constantly accompanied by unorganised and sporadic street fighting and other acts of violent resistance on a nation-wide scale. Some 'troubled' Black ghettoes were even declared Operational Areas by the racist police where the press

was not allowed to enter and gather information.

A random selection from newspaper reports will suffice to prove this point:

i) Under the headline: "Cop Stabbed to Death in Violent Eruption", *Post* of the 17th of June, 1980, reports: "A white constable, Mr J.C. Hugo, was stabbed to death in Mfuleni township in Kuilsriver, near Cape Town, in a series of violent eruptions throughout the country on June 16 commemoration day."

ii) "A Bloody Afternoon In Crossroads" is the headline in the August 25th, 1980 issue of *Newsweek*, which reports: "A bus boycott had kept the people of Crossroads penned up in their shabby squatters' camp outside Cape Town. Then, one afternoon last week, a group of blacks — mostly restless teenagers — began to pelt passing cars with rocks and Molotov cocktails. Their first victim was George Beeton, a 59 year old white man whose car swerved off the road under the hail of stones and bricks. The mob overturned his car, set it on fire with their gasoline bombs and bludgeoned him to death with rocks and machetes. Next Frederick Jansen, a 46 year old white, was hurled from his truck, beaten mercilessly and set afire. When the police reached Jansen, they found him sitting, dazed and half-naked, beside his overturned vehicle, his body covered with cuts and burns. He died a day later."

iii) *The Star* of 15th July, 1980 reports: "Eighteen thousand construction workers at Sasol 2 and 3 were laid off for the day today after 300 workers went on the rampage yesterday stoning vehicles and leaving one man dead". Note: about two weeks before this event, Sasol plants had been targets of the dramatic sabotage assault by units of Umkhonto We Sizwe.

iv) "One youth was stoned dead, three policemen were injured in KwaMashu at the weekend . . . the injured are Constables Nkabinde, Zondo, Sergeant Lobanja and a youth Richard Nduli . . . " wrote *Post*, May 20, 1980.

v) *The Star* of the 15th May, 1980 writes: "A Grahamstown taxi driver believed to be the leader of a local Makgotla group, The Peacemakers, was killed yesterday when boycotting students outside a school stoned him and other adults who were trying to get them to return to classes."

Space does not permit the inclusion of a detailed account of this trend. To summarise the whole phenomenon, however an Editorial of the *African Communist* commented:

> "The political consciousness of the people of South Africa is now running at an extraordinarily high level. From one end of the country to the other the people are resorting to direct action in defence of their immediate interests, in protest against the policies of Apartheid."[6]

Whatever other lessons the 1980 mass revolt might have, one of the points of highest significance is that here we have an attempt by the crowds to offer armed resistance to the fascist oppressors. The brutal massacres of the past, including the Soweto massacre, have not dampened the people's determination to resist. If anything, racist violence has educated them and has prepared them for higher forms of struggle. This does not mean, of course, that the entire people have advanced to this new and higher stage. No. But it does mean that the advanced representatives of the people have themselves arrived, not as a result of theoretical reasoning, but under the impact of the course of events, at an appreciation of the new and higher tasks of the struggle. The potential units of the revolutionary people's army (still armed with sticks and stones inside the country) are springing up out of the demonstrations.

It is our task now to give the utmost support to the people's combat efforts; to organise that which is spontaneous; to explain to the broadest masses of the people the significance of a revolutionary army in the struggle for freedom; to train and arm various units among the people with our acquired politico-military skills. The idea of leaving the country to acquire training in friendly countries has never been to come back and fight on behalf of the people, so that they should look on us as their heroes and saviours. A vanguard movement organises the spontaneous actions of the masses, but cannot make a revolution for them with its own forces alone. At the same time, it will never

> "stand idly, holding aloof and waiting for the greatest hour . . . It seeks and finds possibilities for active work among the masses, for an active political struggle even under the most unfavourable conditions."[7]

Only by facing these challenges boldly can we live up to our vanguard role in the situation that is developing inside South Africa. Lest we forget, Lenin advised:

> "The revolutionary army is needed because great historic issues can be resolved only with force, and, in modern struggle, the organisation of force means military organisation."[8]

Reiterating the same view, Le Duan, the Secretary General of the Communist Party of Vietnam, drew the following lesson from the whole struggle of the Vietnamese people:

> "Before the seizure of power and in pursuit of that aim, the only weapon available to the revolution, to the masses, is organisation . . . It is for combat that the masses are organised; conversely, it is through combat that they are further organised and educated and the forces of revolution expanded. Therefore, propaganda, organisation and struggle must go hand in hand, the common purpose being to form and enlarge the political army of the masses in preparation for the decisive leap."[9]

What is meant by The Arming of the Masses?

In the classical sense, Marx and Engels, as founders of the military science of the proletariat, laid the theoretical basis for the strategy of "Arming the Masses" with their famous thesis:

> "The workers must be armed and organised. The arming of the whole proletariat with rifles, musket, cannon and munition must be put through at once . . . any attempt at disarming must be frustrated, if necessary by force."[10]

Of course, it should be noted that the appeal to arms, in this case, was considered first on the agenda of the proletarian revolutionary programme at a time when insurrections and civil wars had become immediate tasks of the proletarian revolution in some developed capitalist countries of Western Europe (as distinct from the instance when both Marx and Engels referred to the military organisation of the Socialist state).

Lenin, who successfully applied the principle of Arming the Masses to the Russian conditions and thereby confirmed its validity through practice, wrote:

> " . . . Our slogan must be: arming of the proletariat to defeat, expropriate and disarm the bourgeoisie. These are the only tactics possible for a revolutionary class, tactics that follow logically from and are dictated by, the whole objective development of capitalist militarism."

Unfortunately, it is only in this classical sense that the slogan of "Arming the Masses" is understood by many, meaning the literal distribution of weapons at the point of the highest stage of the development of the revolution, when there exists a revolutionary situation or a nation-wide crisis. It is usually in this consideration that the view is expressed: The Time Has Not Come For The Arming Of The Masses! However, if one were to ask whether the time of arming the masses has come to South Africa, the reply would be that it came in 1961 when the decision to embark on armed struggle was taken; and that Umkhonto We Sizwe is only an advanced section of the armed masses. The prospects of the strategy of the arming of the masses in South Africa should be assessed from the standpoint of the theory and practice of guerrilla warfare leading to armed

insurrection. Guerrilla warfare and armed insurrection are two different tactics or stages in the development of the struggle. There are cases in history where mass insurrection as an art of revolution was successfully conducted without being preceded by guerrilla operations — the 1917 October Revolution was such a case. But there has also been, in history, a people's guerrilla warfare, for instance by the people of Vietnam, whose apex was mass insurrection in 1945. In both these cases, the strategy of "Arming the Masses" was applied in different ways and contexts.

Referring to the situation in Vietnam, General Giap wrote:

> "In his summarised Party Political Programme of February 1930 Ho Chi Minh proposed the 'organisation of a worker-peasant army' . . . Thus from the very beginning our party has advocated the arming of the masses and building of an army, at the same time pointing out the class character of the revolutionary armed forces."[11]

Giap also said:

> "About the arming of the masses, our Party pointed out, 'when conditions are ripe, armed violence of the worker-peasant masses under the Party's command to seize power will necessarily break out'. 'If no preparation is promptly made to arm the masses, the revolution cannot succeed.' 'While giving military training to the masses and preparing to arm them, a vigorous attack should be directed against the tendency to act rashly and concentrate on making rifles and hand grenades while neglecting daily political action among the labouring masses."[12]

The experience of Vietnam, particularly the successful conduct of the 1945 August insurrection, shows that even in conditions of a colonial country, where every democratic freedom is denied and the smallest weapon forbidden, it is possible to apply the protracted strategy of "Arming the Masses". The report of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party summarises their experience accurately:

> "The August Revolution succeeded chiefly because the people's political forces had availed themselves of the most favourable occasion to stage an uprising and seize state power. But if before that our Party had not built up armed forces and created vast base areas to support the political forces and the movement for political struggle, and had failed to stage an armed uprising promptly when the conditions were ripe, the revolution would not have been able to win victory as quickly as it did."[13]

Thus, to arm the masses does not simply mean the distribution of weapons and ammunition among the people (as already indicated before). What we are concerned with here is not merely a logistic question, but a scientific approach to revolution which recognises that the essence of the law of revolutionary violence is the combination of political struggle and armed

struggle, with political organisation being the determinant of military organisation, and not vice versa. It is only in this regard that we can safeguard the struggle from the arming of potential and actual counter-revolutionaries. Furthermore, it is in this regard that the strategy of "Arming the Masses" can be seen as a protracted endeavour to create from the masses of the people combat units, self-defence units, etc. — in short, a revolutionary people's army.

It is quite true that the chief content of our work is the mobilisation of the masses by means including leaflets, Radio Freedom, *Sechaba*, etc. — but let us not forget that, in addition to this general, constant and fundamental task, times like the present in South Africa impose other, particular and special tasks. "Let us not evade these tasks of the moment," Lenin said to the Russian revolutionaries," these special tasks of the given forms of struggle . . .

> "The masses must know that they are entering upon armed bloody and desperate struggle. Contempt for death must become widespread among them and will ensure victory. The onslaught on the enemy must be pressed with greatest vigour; attack, not defence, must be the slogan of the masses; the wavering elements among the enemy troops will be drawn into active participation."[14]

Combat actions stimulate mass action and mass action further stimulates combat activity. The two are always to be seen in their dialectical unity. Therefore, the timeliness of arming the masses, that is, of creating combat units from among the masses, is incontrovertible. Enemy reprisals are no excuse for inactivity. Study carefully the story of the criminal gangs in South Africa — the Msomi gang, Boy Faraday, or Mzimlophe's amaHazel — these lumpen so-called criminal gangsters have been able to survive massive police hunts in the ghettoes of Johannesburg despite their lack of mass support because of the purposeful nature of their activities. How many more advantages would the underground units of Umkhonto We Sizwe have when it is actually fighting for the liberation of the people? Our urban guerrilla units can learn from the experience of these gangsters by stimulating their own creative efforts to survive among the people — while at the same time eliminating the 'hooligan' perversion of guerrilla warfare.

The Moscow uprising of 1905 did advance these tactics, but failed to develop them far enough and to apply them on a mass basis. In analysing this uprising Lenin wrote:

> "There were too few volunteer fighting squads, the slogan of bold attack was not issued to the masses of the workers and they did not apply it; the guerrilla

> detachments were too uniform in character, their arms and methods were inadequate, their ability to lead the crowds was almost undeveloped."[15]

Without a powerful guerrilla force in the rural areas, city operations alone (particularly in South Africa where the cities are strongly garrisoned by the Whites) cannot achieve victory. No matter how well organised and armed the people in the townships and locations can be, from a military point of view these township battles have certain inherent limitations, namely, inter alia:

1) these townships have been especially built far from the cities (urban warfare should actually concentrate in these 'white' cities more than in the townships themselves):

2) these townships have been specifically created by the enemy with major security or military considerations in the event of Africans rising up in arms against the white ruling class:

3) certain heavy weapons (indispensable in serious armed confrontation against an enemy armed as the Pretoria Boers are) cannot be put into full use (unlike in the rural situation):

4) in the ghetto pockets the enemy can concentrate his forces. On the other hand, the advantage of a strong rural guerrilla war is the dimensions and space within which the guerrillas can operate and maintain the initiative, because here the enemy is forced to disperse instead of concentrating. This is not to challenge the feasibility of the urban guerrilla strategy or to compare one to the other, but to indicate the necessity of combining both and leaving it to concrete reality to determine which one will play the primary role and which the secondary or supportive role. To theorise without relation to actual practice is to negate the fundamental principles of Marxism.

Passive Accumulation of Forces

A strategy of revolution that allows for the passive accumulation of forces is sterile or lifeless and does not allow a people the experience of development to higher levels of organisation and struggle. Revolution is creative work of the masses through their daily confrontation with the enemy. Because there is no day when oppression postpones itself and does not affect the masses, so the struggle cannot be postponed. Our freedom can't wait. Le Duan wrote:

> " . . . Hence, to win step by step means in each arena of combat to mobilise and organise the masses with a view to frustrating the enemy's successive policies and foiling everyone of his schemes and manoeuvres; it means to point out and attain

> at all costs all objectives that could be attained in a given period or a given battle, thereby impelling the movement forward and bringing it to a higher level."[16]

In a revolution every battle is important, and there is no single battle that can be bypassed. A battle that is not fought today is still there waiting to be fought tomorrow. Passive accumulation of forces is avoidance of today's battles in the hope of winning tomorrow's war. It is particularly dangerous because it stifles the initiative of the masses and puts them in a utopian historical waiting-room while the enemy retains the offensive instead of the masses. The strategy of arming the masses in the context of guerrilla warfare is meant to counter the illusion of passive accumulation of forces. It is aimed at rallying the masses for revolutionary action and guiding them from lower to higher forms of struggle, thereby educaing them and enlarging the revolutionary ranks. One battle leads to another, and once the masses have gone into battle, they will grow all the more politically conscious, and their own experience will open their eyes to the truth and teach them which way to act. As Lenin said, history as a whole, and the history of revolution in particular, is always richer in content, more varied, more multiform, more lively and ingenious than is imagined by even the best parties and the most class conscious vanguards of the most advanced classes.

> " . . . as action evolves things will reveal their possibilities and trend of development, at the same time the boundless creative power of the masses, the makers of history, will provide us with the orientation and methods of solving all practical problems."

To arm the revolutionary masses is not only to unfurl for the oppressed people an offensive strategy but is also to enlarge the people's field of action, relying on the creative power of the millions of people who always know how to act on the offensive, preserve and build up their forces and carry on a protracted struggle, as the experience of Viet Nam, for instance, has indicated. "It means," said General Giap, "to fight the enemy in our fields and orchards, villages and hamlets, forest clearings and streets. It means to cling to and be masters of the land, to control the administration in varying degrees, to be masters of the situation." In this connection "every village, each hamlet, is to be turned into a fortress, each citizen to become a fighter, who seeks every way to fight the enemy, devizes all kind of methods, engages in military and political action and agitation work among the enemy troops and uses all weapons and all means possible."[17] In this way racist troops and police are drowned in the raging

sea of the people's war, and because the enemy is in the minority, he is scattered and stretched further, so that in spite of his modern war equipment, he is made weak and defeated.

Naturally, one does not presume to be giving some sort of recipe or formula for the victory of the South African revolution. Strategy and tactics of waging the struggle are determined by the concrete and ever changing conditions. The form of struggle in the coming period will be determined, to a considerable extent, by the degree to which the racists and their imperialist allies are forced to realise the impact of mass action and combat actions and the consequent realities in the changed balance of power. It is in this spirit that we do not dismiss all prospects of non-violent transition to the democratic revolution. We only want to emphasize that "this prospect will be enhanced by the development of the revolutionary and militant people's forces. The illusion that the minority can rule forever over the majority will crumble before the reality of an armed and determined people."[18]

Again, unless we fully and clearly understand the question of the class composition of the forces which are capable of leading and winning the national liberation struggle, that is, the working class in alliance with the peasantry and other democratic forces, all our words about seeking to make the South African revolution victorious will be empty phrases.

Under these circumstances, our victory can be assured if we show the entire people a sure way out; if we demonstrate to the entire people the value of our leadership.

Notes

1)Le Duan, *The Vietnamese Revolution: Fundamental Problems, Essential Tasks,* Hanoi, 1973, p. 43.

2) N. Krupskaya, *Memories of Lenin*, London 1942, p. 86.

3) K. Marx and F. Engels *Works*, vol. 18, p. 154.

4) William J. Pomeroy, *Guerrilla Warfare and Marxism*, London 1969, p. 46.

5) V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* vol. II, Moscow 1965, p. 214.

6) *African Communist*, No. 82 Third Quarter 1980, p. 5

7) *Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism*, Moscow 1963, p. 349.

8) V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works,* vol. 8, Moscow 1962, p. 564.

9. Le Duan, *the Vietnamese Revolution: Fundamental Problems, Essential Tasks,* Hanoi 1973, p. 51.

10) Marx-Engels: "Address of the Central Committee to the Communist

League", *Selected Works,* vol. I Moscow 1958, p. 113.
11) Vo Nguen Giap, *To Arm The Revolutionary Masses, To Build A People's Army,* Hanoi 1975, p. 94.
12) Ibid., pp. 96-97.
13) "Political Report", Congress Documents, Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee, Hanoi 1960, vol. I pp. 145-146.
14) V.I. Lenin, *Selected Works* (3 vols), International Publishers, 1967, vol. I, p. 583.
15) V.I. Lenin, *Lessons of the Moscow Uprising*
16) Le Duan, Ibid., p. 49.
17) Ibid., p. 77.
18) "Road To South African Freedom", Programme of the South African Communist Party.

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BOOK REVIEWS

FEAR OF THE S.A. REVOLUTION

Ethnic Power Mobilized — Can South Africa Change?

By Heribert Adam and Hermann Giliomee, published by Yale University Press, 1979.

Heribert Adam is a German-born and educated academic now professing sociology in North America (U.S. and Canada). Hermann Giliomee is an Afrikaner lecturing in history at Stellenbosch University and probably regarded by "verkramptes" as a "verligte". They have combined forces to produce a book explaining the rise of Afrikaner nationalism to state power and increasing economic dominance, but hesitating to prescribe the manner of its fall, basically because they fear and reject the revolutionary alternative to white domination.

The book consists of an introduction and nine chapters, only three of which are contributed by Giliomee. In the opinion of this reviewer, Giliomee's contribution is the more interesting because it eschews jargon,

argumentation and obfuscation (which we have by now come to accept as Adam's trademarks) and for the most part confines itself to the historical evidence. He deals with the growth of "Afrikaner identity" from the time of settlement to 1978, the Afrikaner economic advance during this century, and provides some interesting "inside" information about how the Nationalist Party, the Broederbond and other elements of the Afrikaner nationalist establishment function. In a short section on "the security apparatus" he deals only with the army, discounts the possibility of a military coup and voices the extraordinary opinion that "committed to equal pay and status, the (defence) force is gradually becoming one of the most important nonracial institutions in the country". On the murderous and repressive activities of the security police he is silent.

Giliomee's general conclusion is that while the Afrikaners, faced with growing internal and external pressures and contradictions, are making "a distinct but not yet decisive shift away from an identity that rests on exclusivity and privilege toward an orientation in which culture, merit and free association are preferred to race as the basic ordering principle of society", they are at the same time determined "to retain political control over 'their' affairs and through that their class position". He concedes that "it is exactly these claims that are challenged by both the black opposition within and the world outside", but offers no solution.

Adam in the course of his seven sections comes to a number of conclusions that liberal traditionalists will find disconcerting.

"It is fair to say that the earlier liberal optimism that industrialisation will automatically be followed by democratisation has been convincingly refuted in the last decade". (p. 46)

"If the Nationalists so far have not fundamentally altered their race policy it might not be due to intransigence but to circumstances that have not developed sufficient force to dictate an abandonment of apartheid principles. After all, when in history has an oligarchy voluntarily surrendered its position because of moral condemnation?" (p. 28.)

Reform will not come spontaneously from within the racist ranks. On the other hand, he says, neither the anti-apartheid forces amongst the whites, nor the revolutionary forces amongst the blacks can generate the strength to overcome the power of the Afrikaner-dominated state. So what is to be done? Adam speaks vaguely about "a division of political hegemony", "a negotiated federalism....paralleled by a built-in just and proportional exchange of revenue at the central level" to reduce "ethnic inequalities" etc. Despairing of internal reform, he stresses the importance

of foreign pressures based on "the realistic prospect of carrots as well as credible sticks" and ends with a burst of glowingly optimistic if barely intelligible prose:

"South Africa can change without destroying itself when the past ethnic mobilisation of Afrikanerdom has finally faded into pragmatic survival calculations of its heterogeneous constituencies. It is only then that the ethnic mobilisation of Afrikanerdom has matured and reached fruition by demobilising itself in a new, non-racial and just South Africa".

In advancing his reformist solutions Adam often relies on unsupported generalisations and even gossip for which there can be no scientific back-up. For example: "It is said that many tipoffs to newspapers came from wives of civil servants, phoning from call-boxes" (p. 76.) "It is rumoured....it is fairly certain..." (p. 188.) A fact is a fact is a fact. It is not a fact, as Adam states, that "the official ANC under Oliver Tambo" is "London-based" (p. 277) or that the South African Communist Party, hidebound by its class approach, has taken no cognisance of the national question (which Adam prefers to call ethnic) (pp. 47-48), or that the ANC and the SACP have identical policies (p. 275), or that they prefer underground organisation, preparation for guerrilla war and the elimination of collaborators to "mass solidarity demonstrations" by students and others in the townships (p. 277).

It is easy to knock down coconuts one has set up to suit oneself. Had Adam shown some sign that he had read (let alone seriously considered) the ANC's "Strategy and Tactics" and the SACP's programme "The Road to South African Freedom" his readers might be prepared to take his somewhat arbitrary judgements more seriously. As it is, they give the impression of prejudice rooted in anti-Communist conformism.

B.M.

LIBERAL FORCES IN THE WILDERNESS

Asking for Trouble – autobiography of a banned journalist,
By Donald Woods. Victor Gollancz, 1980.

In Black and White – voices of apartheid.
By Barbara Hutmacher. Junction Books 1980. (Introduction by Roger Omond; foreword by Donald Woods.)

A Season in Paradise.
By Breyten Breytenbach. Translated from Afrikaans by Rike Vaughan. Jonathan Cape, 1980. (Introduction by Andre Brink.)

These three books were all published in Britain in the second half of 1980. Although each of the books penetrates into the past in South Africa – each in a different way – essentially the books are about South Africa of the early and mid-1970's.

In his introduction to Barbara Hutmacher's book which consists of interviews with personalities in the eastern Cape, Roger Omond writes:

> "South Africa is in critical flux, and these interviews freeze South Africans caught in that flux. They are dated only according to the calendar, not in relevance or importance. They give an insight undiminished by the time lapse. They illuminate not merely the Border but the entire country and its range of opinions and problems.

However, after reading these books, one cannot but feel how time-bound they in fact are in their "insight", and in their "relevance" to South Africa today.

All three writers are white; one English-speaking and one Afrikaans-speaking South African and the third an American (US citizen) who lived in South Africa for two periods – in the early and then in the mid-1970s. Each of the writers was strongly influenced by certain ideas and personalities in the "black consciousness" movements. This is particularly true of Barbara Hutmacher and Donald Woods, and their books reflect aspects of "black consciousness" thought.

Donald Woods' autobiography is a much better book than his Biko book – it is very lively reading and full of humour. Even the section on Biko is more objective and restrained in this book, as the author has managed to distance himself from his subject. (It is not surprising that he found it difficult to distance himself in his first book, as he wrote it very soon after Biko was murdered).

Politically the main interest of the book is in Woods' path from a young white racist to a conservative liberal to a fairly radical liberal. Brought up on a trading store in the Transkei, Woods gives a readable and interesting insight into the white world — and to some extent the black world — of that time and place.

The book takes one through his student years, his years of articles in law, his involvement in the old colonial Federal Party, to his time on Fleet Street and his trip to the Deep South of the United States, and to his twelve years as editor of the East London *Daily Dispatch,* until he was banned in 1977.

In some ways Woods was a typical white liberal in his last few years in South Africa, except that he was much more outspoken than most and had a "pragmatic" attitude which enabled him to play a major role in, for instance, getting rid of an old and conservative (white) city council and replacing it with a younger, more dynamic and supposedly more enlightened one.

However it is at points like these that one wonders how strongly opposed to apartheid Woods really is (or was). His respect for the politically dubious ex-security policeman Donald Card, who became mayor of East London, is difficult to stomach.

It is plain from the book that much of Woods' motivation for backing black consciousness was because he saw it as an alternative to the revolutionary nationalism of the ANC and the anti-imperialism of the liberation front in South Africa. Woods is clearly anti-communist. One feels that until Biko was murdered, he was really at heart a conservative liberal, although an outspoken and irreverent one. ("Why are you so cheeky?" was the first question B.J. Vorster asked Woods when they first met).

However it would be wrong to dismiss Woods as no more than that. There is a basic honesty in the book, and it is clear that the murder of Biko had a profound affect on Woods, and caused him to change his attitude to the South African state. Woods came to realise that there could be no reform of the apartheid state; that it would have to be overthrown.

It is this insight which impels Donald Woods to say at the end of the book:

> "By 1980 the harsh reality for South African whites, whether they realise it or not, is that the key political organization whose decisions will have the greatest bearing on the fate of the country is no longer the Afrikaner Nationalist Party, but the African National Congress. Whether alone or in concert with allied

> movements, or even in union with all the black liberation elements, the nucleus and following of the ANC, the most senior of all the liberation movements historically, is as crucial a determinant in the South African situation as the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe, the Frelimo in Mozambique, and all the other mainstream liberation movements throughout Africa."

Although this passage may be unclear on the principles governing any liberation unity, it shows a genuine advance and it reflects the shift a number of liberal white South Africans have undergone in the past few years.

Barbara Hutmacher is a US journalist who worked on the *Daily Dispatch* with both Donald Woods and Roger Omond, who was the night editor. Both these two men and their wives are among the thirty to forty eastern Cape and Border personalities whose short interviews by the author make up her book. Those interviewed also include Nohle Mohapi, Steve Biko, Peter Mopp, Leslie Xinwa, Thenjiwe Mtintso, Alan Paton, John Malcomess, Trudi Thomas, Donald Card and East London business figures, security policemen and domestic servants.

Although the book has its interesting moments, it never penetrates very far either into the subjects or the South African reality. In her own comments on South Africa at the end of the book, she tends to project the main revolutionary force within South Africa as the black consciousness movement, espousing the same position as it did in the early 1970s. However, by 1980 it was quite clear to everyone that the main force inside and outside South Africa was the ANC, and the perspectives of struggle inside the country have moved beyond just "black identity, self-reliance... and self-help".

Roger Omond contributes a valuable introduction which sketches a history of this part of the eastern Cape. Again, though, his insistence on regarding the ANC, PAC and black consciousness as if they were three separate and equally valid "liberation movements" dates the book.

Breyten Breytenbach's book is very different from the other two. It is an account of his three-month visit to South Africa beginning in Christmas 1972 after 13 years in exile. The book was written on his return to Europe. However it was not published until after he had returned to South Africa in disguise in 1975, when he tried to set up a clandestine anti-apartheid support group, was detained and sentenced to nine years imprisonment.

In a dignified introduction to the book, Afrikaans writer Andre Brink deals with Breytenbach's disastrous clandestine return to South Africa, his trial and his attempted escape, in a sympathetic but not uncritical way.

Brink's introduction is also useful as a guide to understanding the often complex language and imagery of the book.

Breytenbach's book is a kind of a diary comprising pieces of poetic prose, and also poems, in part a travelogue, but also remembrances of his childhood and youth, of his family and friends, and a description of the effects on his senses of discovering anew the beauty of South Africa, especially the Western Cape.

The paradise of the title is South Africa; and yet Breytenbach returns again and again in the book to the fact that it is a paradise which has become a hell because of apartheid fascism.

Included in the book — in the middle — is his address to the 1973 University of Cape Town summer school, in which he urges Afrikaans writers to speak out against the regime and to attack censorship.

In the course of this speech, he says:

"And just as I respect the black man trying to improve the dispensation of his own people, just so, I believe, will the black man respect me *only to the extent that I am prepared to work for the transformation of my own community* — and not if I tell him what he ought to do." (My emphasis).

But a bit further on in the book, at the end of a section urging Afrikaans writers to fight the regime, Breytenbach says:

"A final proposal and wish: that we may break away, both in our perception and conduct, to a broader South African conduct."

Unfortunately, bound by what he perceives as a black consciousness position that he feels he supports, Breytenbach never solves the contradiction between these two statements.

The book itself is full of other contradictions, debates which Breytenbach explores, but which are not necessarily resolvable: the relationship between the artist and society, the responsibility of the artist and the limitations of the artist. These are explored most successfully in an imaginary debate he has with his "other self" — a character he calls Panus.

D.Z.

A PICTORIAL HISTORY

Portrait of a People, A Personal Record of the South African Liberation Struggle, By Eli Weinberg. International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, £4.

Members of the liberation movement know Eli Weinberg chiefly as a Communist and trade unionist who was banned in 1953 after the Nationalist Government had embarked on its purge of the trade union movement. Deprived of his employment as a trade union official, Eli Weinberg fell back on photography to keep the wolf from the door, but retained his interest in and connection with the trade union movement and was an active member of the political underground.

He was detained during the 1960 state of emergency and in September 1964 he was arrested together with Bram Fischer and sentenced to five years imprisonment. In 1976, during the Soweto upheavals, he left South Africa illegally on instructions from the ANC and now lives in exile in Dar es Salaam. He is an executive member of the non-racial South African Congress of Trade Unions and a leading figure in the Dar es Salaam apparatus of the ANC.

Weinberg's interest in photography dates back to 1926, when he assisted part-time in a photographic studio belonging to a friend in Latvia, where he was born in 1908. He left Latvia in 1929 for South Africa, where he worked as a professional photographer during his first few months before becoming absorbed in the trade union movement. Throughout his trade union career he maintained his interest in photography, exhibiting and publishing often.

This book is the record of Eli Weinberg's work as a photographer, and as a political record it is of unrivalled quality. Unfortunately it is not the complete record of his work, as he was forced to leave many of his negatives behind in his precipitate flight from South Africa. Nevertheless, what he has collected together here covers every facet of our liberation struggle.

The bulk of the photographs concentrate on the period 1950 to 1960, which saw the greatest organised upsurge of the oppressed people in our country under the leadership of the Congress movement since the ANC was founded in 1912. Most of the pictures were taken for the *Guardian* newspaper and its successor *New Age,* and here are the participants in the Defiance Campaign and the Congress of the People, the campaigns against the Western Areas removal and the passes, the treason trial, Bantu

Education, the bus boycotts, the stay-at-homes, the troubles in the townships and in the rural areas. Here are the people's leaders in action — Chief Lutuli, Nelson Mandela, Bram Fischer, Lilian Ngoyi, Duma Nokwe and many others; here are the masses facing up to police baton charges and pass raids, the tyranny of puppet chiefs in the reserves; here are the people in their moments of triumph, when they have defeated a fare increase or won a strike, and in their mourning when they have buried one of their heroes or martyrs. Here is the record of a people fighting and dying, laughing and crying, ever struggling against the apartheid tyranny, determined and courageous, edging inch by inch towards their final liberation from oppression.

In his introduction, Eli Weinberg writes: "The flood of young people into our ranks in search of knowledge and training, particularly in search of political education, is our guarantee that the slogan of the ANC — *Amandla Ngawethu, Matla ke a Rona* — Power to the People — will be realised. I hope that, by referring to our past, this book will in a small way also help to inspire others in the struggle for this future".

All who page through this book cannot fail to be impresed with the contribution Eli Weinberg has made to our common cause, not merely by compiling it, but through his involvement in the events he records, without which the book itself could never have materialised.

B.M.

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LETTER TO THE EDITOR

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE ANC

From Moyahabo Moloantoa
Somewhere in Africa

This is a response to the letter that was written by comrade Khumalo Migwe to the *African Communist* number 83, 4th quarter 1980, on "Black Consciousness and the S.A. Revolution". I have points of agreement and disagreement with comrade Migwe and unfortunately the points of disagreement seem sharper than those of agreement.

Firstly, I do not think it is correct to say that the movement has not given the question of Black Consciousness due consideration and credit.

I fail to understand why the comrade should balk at the fact that serious analysis — which he dismisses as criticism which has not appreciated the real essence of Black Consciousness — has diagnosed defects within the totality of the philosophy of Black Consciousness, its strategy and tactics. In our analysis of Black Consciousness is it not proper for us to expose both the pros and cons of Black Consciousness, reveal its limitations? In the course of our struggle we must examine all suggestions, short term and long term, objectively and constructively with a view to forging the best strategy and adopting the most effective and relevant tactics. Otherwise we shall not be revolutionary in our approach but rather like shouters from

rooftops who clamour for change but are afraid to face the facts of the struggle.

Furthermore he has made extensive use of extracts from statements of the President of the ANC, comrade OR Tambo, but unfortunately not in their proper context. Comrade OR's ideas are based on a revolutionary approach that recognises the superior striking weapon of the people as armed struggle through which "... the blacks seize by force what is theirs by right of birth and use it for the benefit of all, including those from whom it has been taken." We have sought for an explanation of the means with which to attain the emancipation of the black man in the Black Consciousness policy statements and manifestoes, all to no avail. It is such omissions (whether deliberate or not) that we need to take note of seriously.

To avoid redundancy I shall not trace the roots of Black Consciousness in this letter. Comrade Khumalo Migwe has done enough in this connection. But why should we cloud the issue with so-called indictments levelled against the Black Consciousness Movement? Nobody is dragging the BCM to court in spite of the fact that there is no time, there's just no reason for that. What we are saying is that the BCM could not, and did not provide a strategy for liberation. Far from condemning it as a counter-revolutionary trend we are quick to laud it for the good it has done in organising the black people (mainly youth) and imbuing them with the confidence in their ability to forge ahead as a solid black mass, to awaken a sense of national identity, at a time when the ANC was going through a difficult period.

Forge ahead to where? Here again the BCM has not given a clear direction and statements of its most articulate spokesmen have been vague. In a letter to Sechaba (Vol. 7, No 10-12, 1973) O.K. Setlhapelo argues that the fact that SASO policy manifesto states ". . .no amount of preaching will alter S.A. from her course towards total and lasting subjugation of black people's of S.A.", emphasizes that "ultimate victory for our people depends upon the willingness, preparedness and capability of the ANC to provide the vital link". This is what O.K. Setlhapelo says, but it has never been SASO policy. After all why should we talk about willingness, preparedness and capability of the ANC as if we are referring to a dubious force? The ANC had spent well over half a century in the van of the struggle before the BCM took root. During this period it demonstrated beyond question its willingness, preparedness and capability just as it continues to do now. And today there is no serious patriot in our country who does not recognise that there can be no black liberation without the

ANC.

Certain comrades fear a critical approach towards the BCM because they feel that we might undermine the unity of all forces ranged against the apartheid regime. But has the ANC not amply demonstrated throughout its history that unity of all patriotic forces irrespective of colour was a crucial factor for our liberation? By contrast the SASO policy manifesto amongst other things states "that the white man must be made aware that one is either part of the solution or part of the problem"; and goes on to state.. "therefore we believe that in all matters relating to the struggle towards realising our aspirations, *whites must be excluded*" (my emphasis). While SASO does not completely ignore the question of unity, the unity it envisages is not all-embracing.

The contention that Black Consciousness will continue to find organisational expression in the ANC waters down, in my opinion, the advanced nationalism of the ANC. The ANC is more than a movement of Black Consciousness. It is the political home of our nationally oppressed people and all others who are opposed to the system of race rule and aspire for a society of mutuality, a South African nation. The ANC is the custodian of the aspirations of all freedom lovers in our country. While Black Consciousness is not necessarily a fading phenomenon at this stage, it is at the same time transient. The President of the ANC comrade O.R. Tambo has this to say in this regard:

> "...When the people decide to fight for their rights as blacks, as most deprived, people are reacting to a situation created for them. But they are not going to stay in that situation all the time, because they are fighting for human rights basically. They are not fighting white people as white people. They are fighting a white system, but not because it is white, although it is presented in that form. But, basically the struggle is for justice, for human rights ----- it is capable of being supported by all human beings who support just causes irrespective of what race they belong to" (*Sechaba* Vol 11, 4th quarter 1977, pp 11).

The attitude of "I am black or white" will persist up to a point when the common efforts of all South Africans under correct guidance and leadership will have eradicated all prejudices and mistrust amongst our people. Then we shall have ceased to feel and act as Black and White but just as South Africans, equals, countrymen.

SOLIDARITY APPEAL

Issued by the 10th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in April, 1981

The world today is witnessing a resolute struggle for peace, democracy and social progress. New nations and ever broader social strata are joining in the struggle. Imperialism and reaction, unable to solve the problems of mankind, are resorting more and more frequently to brute force and terror and applying repression against all those who are fighting for a peaceful and happy life for their peoples. They are pitting all their strength against progress. Their adventurous policies are endangering the existence of human civilization.

The 10th Congress of the SED reaffirms on behalf of the communists and all working people of the GDR its firm and fraternal solidarity with all communists, with all revolutionaries and patriots who are being tormented in the jails and concentration camps of inhuman regimes. We greet all fighters for national and social liberation who are exposed to repression, persecution and discrimination and who in deepest clandestinity are waging, often at the risk of their lives, a selfless struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and social progress, against war, fascism, colonialism and neocolonialism, against imperialism and

hegemonism.

The 10th Congress of the SED calls for the release of the General Secretary of the Paraguayan Communist Party, Antonio Maidana, who is being held captive in the prisons of the Stroessner regime!

We demand the freedom of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Bangladesh, Mohammed Farhad!

We demand the release of Nelson Mandela, that outstanding fighter for the freedom of the oppressed people of South Africa!

The 10th Congress of the SED joins with all democratic forces in the world in calling for the freedom of the President of the Frente Amplio of Uruguay, General Liber Seregni!

With revulsion we condemn the racist, zionist, fascist and dictatorial regimes in South Africa, Israel, Chile, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, South Korea and Paraguay who enjoy the material and moral support of imperialism.

The citizens of the GDR stand in solidarity at the side of those who struggle for the inalienable rights of the Arab peoples of Palestine including that of creating their own national state with due regard for the safety and sovereignty of all states of the region.

We salute in solidarity the fighting peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador!

We proclaim our solidarity with the just struggle of the democratic forces of Northern Ireland for the implementation of their democratic and civil rights.

Solidarity with all fighters for national independence, democracy and social progress in the world.

With indignation we condemn the activities of the most aggressive imperialist circles to arrest the popular struggle for national and social liberation, to interfere in the internal affairs of other states, to defame as terrorism the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination and to confront the national liberation struggle with blackmail manoeuvres endangering peace.

The Congress opposes the degrading practice of preventing people from exercising their professions on political grounds, against the exercise of political and economic pressure, against neofascism, against the continued violation of human rights by imperialism.

The Congress denounces in the most resolute terms anti-communism and anti-sovietism, which serve as a pretext to intensify imperialist armaments and to sow discord among nations; anti-communism and anti-

sovietism are used to slander the true fighters for peace and social progress

We bow our heads before the heroes who have sacrificed their lives in the fight against tyranny.

The clock of history cannot be put back! All attempts to arrest it with violence and terror are doomed to failure!

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the people of the German Democratic Republic will continue to fulfil consistently their internationalist commitments and exercise fraternal solidarity with all fighters for peace, democracy, national independence and social progress!

The 10th Congress of the
Socialist Unity Party of Germany